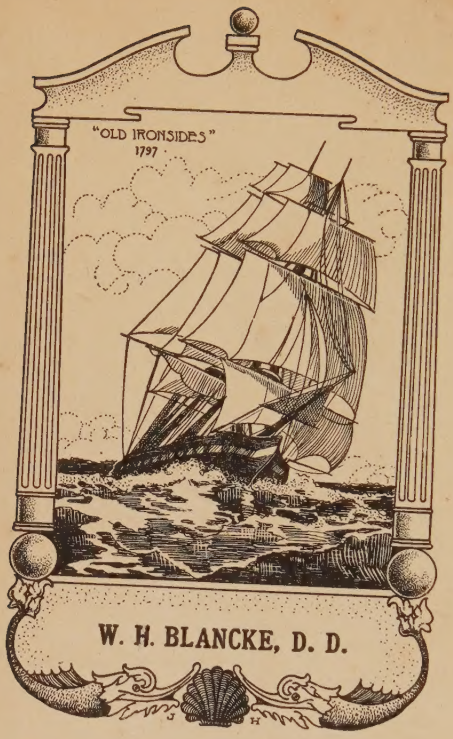
THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

GEORGE J. FRITSCHEL


"OLD IRONSIDES"
1797
W. H. BLANCKE, D. D.

THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

ITS ORIGIN AND CONTENTS

A CONTRIBUTION TO SYMBOLICS

BY

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TO

THE FUTURE LUTHERAN CHURCH
OF AMERICA

UNITED

ON THE UNALTERABLE BASIS OF HISTORICAL
LUTHERANISM

PREFACE

This volume presents to some extent the fruit of several years' studies in symbolics. According to the schedule of instruction in the Wartburg Theological Seminary, Symbolics is taught as a branch of historical science. The author in his class work lays more stress upon becoming acquainted with the documents themselves than with facts concerning the same. His object has been to give to his pupils a first-hand acquaintance with the *norma normata*. For this reason the historical parts are treated much more briefly than in this volume, and much more time is spent upon the part of which here only an outline is given. But for the instructor a more detailed acquaintance with the history of the documents is an absolute necessity. The same is also highly profitable for those who desire to deepen their acquaintance with the Lutheran confessions. It is exactly as in intercourse with a person. If we become acquainted with the history of his ancestors, if we know his schooling and his associations, then we are better enabled to understand him. Likewise in becoming acquainted with the confessions of the Lutheran Church, and, above all, the Form of Concord, a thorough acquaintance with the times of origin and the gradual growth, etc., will help us better to understand this last, and by no means least, symbolical book.

About two years ago Dr. Neve confided to the author that he intended to write a text-book on symbolics, and requested him to make any suggestions

from his experience in teaching this subject. When the author had done so the doctor came back with the request that the author should take over a certain portion of the proposed work. There was no reason why this request should not be granted. But when my share of the work was finished it was evident that the treatment of the Form of Concord was out of proportion and that a revision and condensation was absolutely necessary. Dr. Neve, however, was of the opinion that the first attempt should nevertheless be published as a monograph, so that it might be used for collateral reading with the shorter presentation in the text-book. It was entirely through his endeavors that The Lutheran Publication Society decided to print the volume. These facts will somewhat explain its scope and purpose.

The author is well aware of the imperfection of his work. He does not imagine that he has succeeded in all instances to strike the correct middle line between a detailed study of the subject and a treatment for post-graduate study. But he expresses the hope that until a more capable authority gives us a perfect treatment of this topic his labor will not be without blessing for some students both within and without the theological seminaries. He has often sorely felt the scarcity of information concerning this topic which exists in theological literature. Above all, he expects to render a service to those who have studied symbolics under his guidance, and it is his sincere wish that they may be introduced deeper into the spirit of this last and greatest of the confessions of the sixteenth century.

The author cannot close these preliminary remarks without referring to the obligations under which he has been placed by Dr. J. L. Neve and Dr. L. S. Keyser. The former made many suggestions which were utilized in revising the manuscript. The latter went over the whole manuscript and tried to make it a little more palatable for English readers.

G. J. F.

CONTENTS

PART I PAGE

THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

CHAPTER I

A HISTORY OF LUTHERAN GERMANY AFTER LUTHER'S DEATH

The Status in Germany at the Time of Luther's Death.. 15
The Smalcald War and Its Consequences 17
The Augsburg Interim 25
The Revolt Against the Emperor 30
The Time After Charles V..... 35

CHAPTER II

THE DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHERANISM, 1546-1576

Melanchthon as Leader 38
Melanchthon's Unionistic Endeavors 40
Melanchthon and Romanism 41
Melanchthon and Calvinism 49
The Practical Results of the Melanchthonian Policy.. 52

CHAPTER III

THE DIFFERENT PARTIES AND CONTROVERSIES

The Extremes 55
The Middle Party 58
The Controversies 63

CHAPTER IV

THE ENDEAVORS TO UNITE THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

Endeavors to Settle the Matter Between Flacius and Melanchthon 66
The Endeavors of the Princes to Unite All Parties 81
The Endeavors of Andreae to Unite All Parties..... 91
The Endeavors of Andreae to Unite All Lutherans 97

CHAPTER V

THE COMPLETION OF THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

The Maulbrunn Formula 105
The Torgau Book 107
The Bergen Book 111
The Publication of the Book of Concord 113

CHAPTER VI

PAGE

THE FORMULA OF CONCORD AS A LUTHERAN SYMBOL

Its Adoption 116
The Rejection of the Formula 119
The Formula of Concord in the Next Centuries 121
The American Lutheran Church and the Formula of Concord 122

PART II

THE FORMULA OF CONCORD ITSELF: A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIVIDUAL ARTICLES AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE SAME

ANALYSIS OF THE PREFACE

ARTICLE ONE

Concerning Original Sin 132

ARTICLE TWO

Concerning Free Will 141

ARTICLE THREE

Concerning Justification 154

ARTICLE FOUR

Concerning Good Works 161

ARTICLES FIVE AND SIX

Concerning the Law and the Gospel 166

ARTICLES SEVEN AND EIGHT

Concerning the Eucharist and the Person of Christ..... 175

ARTICLE NINE

Concerning the Descent to Hell 213

ARTICLE TEN

Concerning Adiaphora 215

ARTICLE ELEVEN

Concerning Predestination 217

ARTICLE TWELVE

Concerning the Various Sects 225
Bibliography 226

INTRODUCTION

In preparing this work Prof. Fritschel has rendered a very helpful and valuable service to all who are interested in the development of the theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, that is, in the richest theology and the greatest Church in Protestant Christendom.

Lutheran theology as dogma—statement of doctrine to which authoritative and symbolic authority has been given—reached its culmination in the Formula of Concord as officially published in 1580.

The Small and Large Catechisms of Luther, in 1529, the Augsburg Confession and The Apology of Melanchthon, in 1530 and 1531, and The Smalcald Articles of Luther, in 1537, were the preceding Lutheran symbols. The great leaders passed away: Luther in 1546, Melanchthon in 1560, and Calvin in 1564. Naturally there was a period of varied tendencies and of earnest discussions and controversies among Lutheran and Reformed theologians. These doctrinal differences, together with the entangled conditions resulting from the close relations of church and state, demanded and received the prayers and the labors of devout and learned Lutheran theologians and others who loved the faith of Luther and the unity of Lutheranism, and labored for their maintenance and extension.

This, happily, resulted in the preparation of the Formula of Concord, which by its own intrinsic merits and its wide reception formed the natural and historic

completion of the body of Lutheran Symbols which, with the three ancient creeds, constitute the Book of Concord.

The General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, in 1909, in a truly broad, irenic and historic spirit, while reaffirming its symbolic adherence to the Augsburg Confession, also declared that it "holds" the other Lutheran symbols of The Book of Concord "in high esteem, regards them as a most valuable body of Lutheran belief, . . . and recommends that they be diligently studied by our ministers and laymen."

In its Constitution, as adopted in revised form in 1913, it "recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Small Catechism of Luther, the Large Catechism of Luther and the Formula of Concord as expositions of Lutheran doctrine of great historical and interpretative value."

In view of its relation with the General Synod, The Lutheran Publication Society, through its Board, naturally follows the actions of the General Synod, as above cited, by sending out the excellent and scholarly volume of Dr. Fritschel with its imprint. It assuredly may desire and hope that along with other valuable historical and doctrinal works that it has published, and may yet publish, it may have an honorable share in producing that condition for which all Lutherans in America may fervently and fondly pray and hope, and to which Prof. Fritschel dedicates this work: The Future Lutheran Church of America, United on the Unaltered Basis of Historic Lutheranism.

PART I

The Historical Origin of the Formula of Concord

The Formula of Concord

CHAPTER I

A. History of Lutheran Germany After the Death of Luther

I. THE STATUS IN GERMANY AT THE TIME OF LUTHER'S DEATH

Luther had faithfully done his work; the evangelical church had been established and organized. The greater part of Germany had been reformed,[1] and the leaven of the gospel was working in the remaining parts.[2] The different countries had been organized on a Lutheran basis. The children and common people

[1] The rulers were still Catholic in 1546: in the Duchy of Bavaria, the Kingdom of Bohemia-Austria-Hungary, in Lotharingia, in the Duchy of Cleve-Berg-Juellich. In Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel the Duke Henry was Catholic, but he was a prisoner of Philip of Hessia, and his land was on the Lutheran side. All "clerical" or ecclesiastical territories were under Catholic rulers, but a part of the population were openly or secretly Lutheran.

[2] In Bavaria, Austria, etc., the Palatinate, the Lutheran movement was strong. The Saxon bishoprics had been reformed. The Elector of Cologne, old Herman von Wied, had embraced the new doctrine (1543), and was trying to introduce it against the strenuous endeavors of his chapter;

were being thoroughly taught by means of Luther's Catechism[1] and popular sermons. In the "*Kirchenordnungen*" (church constitutions) short statements of the Lutheran doctrine had been given and had been made obligatory on all pastors; they were directories for the public worship and discipline. Almost without exception, these (even those composed by Melanchthon) were strictly Lutheran, and were of a greater practical influence upon church life than even the Augsburg Confession. Other books that were of eminent influence upon the clergy and the people were the German Bible and the Commentary of Luther on the Epistle to the Galatians. Books were more diligently studied and digested at that time, because they were so few.

The Union with the Swiss. Bucer's efforts to bring about a reunion of the Protestant forces (continued immediately after Marburg and Augsburg) seemed to have healed the breach of 1525-1529 through the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. It was accepted universally by the German cities in southern Germany. Calvin had not yet come to the front. But the Swiss leaders finally refused to accept the same.

The Prospects and Dangers. Everything seemed to be promising for the Lutheran Church, which was growing stronger both externally and internally. The Lutheran parochial schools, colleges and universities

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Franz von Waldeck, bishop of Minden-Muenster-Osnabrueck, and other ecclesiastics were ready to do the same as soon as possible.

[1] Cf. the many editions and great number of explanations of Luther's Catechism in Reu, Quellen.

were developing splendidly. Catholicism had lost all political, intellectual and ecclesiastical influence north of the Alps. The prospects were that the successor to Ferdinand would be a Lutheran prince.

Dangerous elements were the policy of the emperor and political rivalries between Lutheran princes; the old rivalry between Brandenburg (which did not join the Smalcald League) and Saxony; also bitter feeling between the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Saxony, Maurice (who left the League as a result).

One great question was: Who would succeed Luther as the intellectual and moral leader of the Lutherans? Would he be able to steer the ship as successfully as Luther? With Luther's death came the great catastrophe and crisis.

2. THE SMALCALD WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

THE PAST POLICY OF THE EMPEROR. The election of Charles and the beginning of reformation just about coincide. At Worms Charles had made his decision to remain Catholic under all conditions, and to defend the Catholic Church. His policy, before 1546, may be divided into two periods. From 1520-1529 he had disregarded the Lutheran movement—not by his own will, but under the constraint of political conditions. He had to rely on the Lutheran princes and cities of Germany as allies in his wars against Francis. The Lutherans had saved him from utter defeat, but he had purchased their help by giving them free hand in religious matters. From 1530-1545 he tried to defeat Lutheranism by compromise negotiations under the strain of passive resistance of the pope.

Luther was opposed to the negotiations, whilst Melanchthon was always open for them.[1] The practical result had been the gradual but continuous spread and growth of Lutheranism, and the condition of the Catholic Church in Germany had become extremely critical. This induced Charles to change his policy and to resort to force. For his influence as emperor had also dwindled to almost nothing.

The New Policy of Charles V After 1546. Charles now decided to redeem the pledge of Worms: "I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body, my blood, my life and my soul." He concluded a peace with Francis (who was about to engage in a war with England), and paid tribute to the Turks in order to throw all his resources against the Protestants. These he deceived by continuing the colloquies until he would have completed his preparations. He made secret treaties, (1) with (the Catholic) Duke William of Bavaria (whose son was now married to Ferdinand's daughter) that he should declare himself neutral, but secretly assist Charles (for which service the electoral dignity was held out as a possible reward); (2) with Joachim II, of Brandenburg, that he should likewise remain neutral; (3) With John of Cuestrin-Brandenburg (angry because his father-in-law, Henry of Braunschweig, was kept in captivity) and his brother, Albert Achilles, both members of the Smalcald League, that they were to fight on his side; (4) with Maurice of Saxony, by promising the supervision of the bishoprics of Magde-

[1] Schmauk, "The Confessional Principle," page 626ff.

burg and Halberstadt (a dignity desired both by Saxony and Brandenburg) and the territory (possibly also the dignity) of John Frederick; (5) with Erich of Goettingen, the son of Henry; (6) with the pope.

Rumors of an impending war did not alarm the Lutheran princes, who, at the Diet of Ratisbon, demanded the legal execution of promises made to them at the previous diet by Charles (1544). Now the emperor's hands were forced, and he charged Landgrave Philip of Hessia and John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, as insurgents even before his troops from Italy, Spain, Hungary and the Netherlands reached him. This precipitated the war.

The Real Plans of the Emperor. The emperor's interests were twofold: (1) He intended to restore the religious unity of the empire by force. The Protestants were to be compelled to attend the Council of Trent (convoked in 1545) and to submit to its decisions; (2) to crush the political power of all princes and estates, and make them subject to the emperor's directions. For in the previous century their power had increased, so that the imperial power was only nominal.

The Imperial Policy Executed. Charles V was a master of deception. He pretended that his intention was merely to punish Philip and John Frederick for acts against the public peace, though these (Pack Trouble, Restoration of Duke Ulrich) had long been legally settled at previous diets. He most emphatically proclaimed that the religious question was no cause of the war (in order to prevent the Smalcald

League from making common cause with the two princes). But he did not succeed in deceiving the Smalcaldians. They did not believe him, and quickly hired troops. They intercepted messengers from the pope and found ample proof that the emperor had concluded a treaty with the pope[1] and promised to root out entirely the "Lutheran heresy."

The Smalcald War. The Lutheran cities of southern Germany, especially Ulm, Augsburg and Strasburg, and the Duke Ulrich of Wuertemberg, had hired their troops most quickly. They requested Venice and the Swiss to refuse passage of the emperor's troops already under way from Italy. The Protestant troops were commanded by Schaertlin of Burtenbach, an excellent general, and were much more numerous than the army which Charles had quickly assembled (10,000 men) and was hiring in southern Germany. Schaertlin outlined the following plan: The various imperial troops, being hired and mustered into service at various places, must be scattered by quick moves upon the gathering places before they can be organized; the Ehrenburg Pass and other passes (commanding the roads from Italy) must be occupied; a quick attack must be made upon the emperor. A part of these plans was executed; Schaertlin occupied the Ehrenburg Pass; the unorganized troops retreated before him into "neutral" Bavaria. He was about to follow them up and scatter them, when the councilors of the cities forbade him to violate the pretended neutrality of Bavaria, and ordered him to withdraw all his troops

[1] See text in Richard, "Philip Melanchthon," page 314f.

to Guenzburg, where the whole southern force was to concentrate.

Meanwhile Charles had gathered an army of 10,000 men by bringing in troops held in readiness in Hungary (3000 Spaniards); he remained within the protection of "neutral" Bavaria. Schaertlin now urgently recommended a capture of this army by a quick attack of the much superior army of the League. But the cities hesitated. Charles now (July 20, 1546), contrary to all law and contrary to the stipulation of election (*Wahlkapitulation*), placed the two princes and every person assisting them under the imperial ban, and moved to Ratisbon (August 3). Schaertlin proposed to attack him here with the Smalcald army of about 30,000 men. But the city councils did not permit him to act. Charles then intrenched near Landshut, and again Schaertlin (now reinforced by 19,000 men on foot and 9000 on horse from Hessia and Saxony) proposed to attack him here. But the elector, who now was commander-in-chief, hesitated, though the troops from Italy (12,000 furnished by the pope, and 6000 Spaniards) were approaching. On August 31 a battle really commenced near Ingolstadt, but was broken off by the still superior Protestants. Whilst they still hesitated to strike the decisive blow and turned against an army of 20,000 from the Netherlands (September 4), the latter avoided them and joined Charles (September 15). The imperial troops were now more numerous than the Protestant. In consequence of this the Smalcaldians retired before the emperor.

During this time of hesitation Ferdinand had gath-

ered Bohemian troops to march into electoral Saxony; but the Bohemians (almost all Lutherans) refused to attack a Lutheran country, and Ferdinand had to bring in Hungarian troops for this purpose. Already, on August 1, Charles had appointed Duke Maurice of Saxony as executor of the imperial ban,[1] but Maurice hesitated until Ferdinand was ready actually to invade Saxony (in which case Saxony would have been annexed to Austria). On October 27 the emperor nominated Maurice as future elector (thereby offending Duke William of Bavaria). In vain both Philip and John Frederick appealed to Maurice at this time. He offered to mediate. The emperor in his critical condition now peremptorily ordered Maurice to seize Saxony, who now marched into Saxony and occupied it (as he stated) in the interest of the house of Saxony, not yet assuming the title of "elector."

This complication so frightened the Smalcald Leaguers that they offered peace to the emperor, but his condition was unconditional surrender. Philip and John Frederick left the allied troops to save their territories. The other troops scattered, and the emperor had full control of the south, though the Italian and Spanish troops were almost useless in winter time. The cities and the Duke Ulrich surrendered, and had to pay heavy indemnities.

The Surrender of John Frederick and Philip. In order to save his country Elector John Frederick marched against Maurice. He quickly drove him not

[1] Maurice had made sure as to the question of the electorate and had demanded a promise in written form (which he received in July).

only from the electorate, but also from his own country into Bohemia. He compelled the bishop of Magdeburg to resign and surrender his territory to him. Maurice and Ferdinand (in great danger in Bohemia, since the Bohemians were on the side of the Protestants) now appealed to the emperor, who joined them in Bohemia. The elector tried to take Dresden, but retreated before the approaching imperialists. He was overtaken near Muehlberg (on the Lochauer Haide), and was routed and taken prisoner. Wittenberg was besieged, and the emperor had John Frederick sentenced to death, which was again contrary to the law.[1] In order to save his life, Wittenberg surrendered, and peace was concluded. The elector was to surrender his title and all possessions; he was to remain the emperor's prisoner indefinitely.[2] The new elector guaranteed a revenue of 50,000 florins to the family of the former elector, and turned over territory in Thuringia which would produce that amount. This became the Duchy of Saxony, now the Thuringian Saxon States.

Philip accepted the good services of his son-in-law, Maurice, and the Elector of Brandenburg as mediators, and in June surrendered unconditionally.[3] After

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[1] The death warrant was read to him when playing at chess; after hearing the document he quietly turned to his opponent: "Go on," he said, "it is your move."

[2] The intention of the emperor was to retain him so that he could restore him at any time to his dignity, possessions and title, in case Maurice should cease to be an obedient tool of Charles, who referred to the ex-elector as his "captive bear," which he might turn loose.

[3] The plenipotentiaries had offered him assurance that he

Philip had humbly knelt before the emperor and begged for forgiveness, he was retained as captive, and was treated in a way which was not appropriate to his dignity. All protests and appeals of princes and estates were turned down by the emperor. The German princes must learn that now the emperor was supreme in reality and not only in name.

The Campaign in the North. In the north the emperor's allies were defeated at Drakenberg on May 23. But after the absolute surrender of the two great leaders, the Lutheran cities dismissed their troops and made peace with the emperor. The cause of the Smalcald League was utterly lost. Only one lone city refused to sue for peace—the city of Magdeburg—it remained in a state of war against the emperor, even if it could do him no harm. But what could one city do?

The Emperor's Plans Revealed. The emperor had crushed his enemies, and that through their own lack of energy and capacity. He now unveiled his plans, and plainly stated that one object of the war had been to increase the influence of the emperor in legislation. No longer should the estates consult separately and block the emperor's plans by non-concurrence. No separate assemblies, either at the diet or otherwise, were to be tolerated, no leagues, etc. A confederation of the estates with the emperor as a member was proposed. The princes did not, how-

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should not be imprisoned. In the written draft of the agreement, it is said, the words *"nit eenige Leibesgefangenschaft"* had been used; these were secretly changed into the words, *"nit ewige,"* by merely connecting the letters "e" with "n." The two mediators had offered their persons as guarantee.

ever, at once agree to these changes of the constitution. The second part of Charles's policy was likewise revealed: the restoration of the unity of the Church; in other words, the return of the Protestants to the folds of the Roman Catholic organization. This could not be reached at once, for the pope had again crossed the emperor's plans by removing the council beyond the sphere of imperial influence, and by publishing the decrees adopted against the Lutheran reforms. The emperor was well aware of the difficulty and was satisfied to proceed slowly, step by step the matter should be carried forward. The first step was the Augsburg Interim.

3. THE AUGSBURG INTERIM

THE OBJECT OF THE INTERIM. Already in March, 1548, the emperor had privately informed the princes of his plans, and demanded that they should obey. The pope had become afraid of his now too powerful ally, and had published the anti-Lutheran resolutions passed at Trent, in 1545-1547, on the Canon, Tradition, Church, Original Sin, Justification and the Sacraments. On March 11 he had removed the council to Bologna (outside of Germany and the emperor's influence), although Charles had protested against both acts. Hence the emperor could not compel the Protestants to submit to the council and its decrees, which had not been discussed with them, or that were to be adopted by a council not recognized by the emperor as legal. He now proposed a provisory regulation of the state of the Church. On May 15, 1548, this Augsburg Interim was published. It was a measure indicating to

the pope that the emperor eventually would settle the religious question by himself, if the pope was too refractory.

The Contents. The Interim had been drafted by the coadjutor bishop of Mayence (a Roman of the old school), Helding or Sidonius, and was finished in company with John Pflug, bishop of Naumburg (a Roman of the new school), and John Agricola, the court preacher of Brandenburg. Its twenty-six articles followed in general the outline of the Augsburg Confession: 1-2. Man's condition before and after the fall; 3. The Redemption through Christ; 4-6. Justification by faith; 7. Love and good works; 8. Confidence in the forgiveness of sins; 9-12. The Church and the priests; 13. The pope and the bishops; 14-21. The Seven Sacraments; 22. Mass; 23. Invocation of the saints; 24. Memory of the dead; 25. Communion and the mass; 26. Ceremonies and use of the sacraments.

Its Character. The character of the Augsburg Interim is correctly described in the following words by the Catholic Encyclopedia (vol. viii, page 77): "The points of doctrine were all explained in the sense of the Catholic dogma, but couched in the mildest and vaguest terms; and wherever it was feasible, the form and the concept approached the Protestant view of those subjects. In matters of ecclesiastical discipline two important concessions were made to the Protestants, viz., the marriage of the clergy and the communion under both kinds."

Its Adoption and Publication. On May 15 Charles had the introduction read to the estates. The Catholics were admonished to render due obedience

to the regulations of the Roman Church. The Protestants should either return directly to the folds of the Catholic Church, or should at least act in accordance with the directions of the Interim. The Interim itself was not read (except "by title," according to modern parliamentary terms). Charles then demanded that the estates should at once consult and decide to adopt it. Maurice and others loudly complained that this was an unheard-of procedure; but as they had promised previously they did not protest, but acquiesced. Then the Elector of Mayence informed the emperor that the princes had accepted the Interim. In this way the Interim was rushed through the diet. This was a practical sample of the way in which in future law was to be passed by the diet under the emperor's direction.

The Reception of the Augsburg Interim. "Nothing that Charles ever undertook proved such a dismal failure as this patchwork creed made from the snippets from two Confessions. However lifeless creeds may become, they all—real ones—have grown out of the living experience of their framers, and have contained the very life-blood of their hearts as well as their brains. It is a hopeless task to construct creeds as a tailor shapes and stitches coats. . . . At first the strong measures taken by the emperor compelled its nominal acceptance by many of the Protestant princes. The cities which seemed to be most refractory had their councils purged of their democratic members, and their Lutheran preachers sent into banishment. . . . The city of Constance was besieged, and fell after a heroic defence; it was added to the family possessions

of the House of Austria. Its pastor, Blaurer, was sent into banishment. Four hundred Lutheran divines were driven from their homes."

"If Charles, backed by his Spanish and Italian troops, could secure a nominal submission to his Interim, he could not coerce the people into accepting it. The churches stood empty in Augsburg, in Ulm, and in other cities. The people met it by an almost universal passive resistance—if singing doggerels in mockery of the Interim may be called passive. . . . The popular feeling, as is usual in such cases, found vent in all manner of satirical songs, pamphlets, and even catechisms. . . . Soon the creed and edict which enforced it became practically a dead letter throughout the greater part of Germany."[1]

The Effect of the Augsburg Interim. In one respect this measure thus forced upon southern Germany did enormous harm to the Lutheran Church. It produced hatred and enmity between the Lutherans that submitted to it and those who did not. The latter looked upon the former as traitors to the cause of God's word. It destroyed, or at least undermined, mutual confidence for many, many years.

The Failure of the Emperor's Policy. There were three main causes for this failure: 1. The opposition of the pope. Afraid that Charles would intimidate the council into compromises with the Protestants, he now opposed the imperial policy by all means, open and secret. 2. Ferdinand and the Duke

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[1] Lindsay, "The Reformation in Germany," pages 390, 392 passim.

of Bavaria. These were estranged by the emperor's plans to make his son Philip either his immediate successor, or at least the successor of the successor already elected as Roman king, Ferdinand. Duke William did not forget his unfulfilled expectations. He also opposed the endeavor to reduce the German princes to the grade of Spanish grandes. 3. Maurice of Saxony. He was offended by the disgrace coming upon him through the duplicity of Charles in holding Philip in captivity; also by the threat concealed in the indefinite arrest of John Frederick. He also smarted under the hatred shown by the people.[1]

Maurice and the Augsburg Interim. Charles tried his very best to induce Maurice to set a "good example of obedience" to the other princes by accepting the Interim. But Maurice informed the emperor that he had promised (with the emperor's knowledge and consent) to his estates, when he needed their help in the Smalcald war, that he would make no changes in state and church without their consent and approval. Finally the emperor had to permit him to go home and consult on these matters with his estates. The emperor urged him to coerce and compel them to accept the Augsburg Interim. But Maurice knew that this was impossible, even if he had approved the Interim himself, which was not the case. Maurice planned to get out of the difficulty by a compromise measure in which he would concede nothing in regard to the doctrine, but in which he would restore

[1] He was called the Judas of Meissen, the Mameluk, the Apostate, the Renegade, etc.

some of the former church ceremonies and customs. In this way he expected to satisfy the emperor until he could do (what loomed up as a possibility already now) something to break the yoke which the emperor intended to lay upon Germany. He knew that his theologians would not resist his pressure if he were insistent. He made them his pliant tools until he had gained from them what he considered necessary to satisfy the emperor. This was the Leipzig Interim.

4. THE REVOLT AGAINST THE EMPEROR AND THE RELIGIOUS PEACE

THE POLICY OF MAURICE. Maurice had been schooled in politics by Charles V, and he studied his master's methods so well that he defeated him by his own methods of hypocrisy, secrecy and sudden action. In the first place he pretended to do his utmost in religious matters by wrenching from his theologians the compromise of the Leipzig Interim (see C. R., VIII, 259ff), and later (1552) by ordering his theologians to go to the Council of Trent (secretly instructing them to await further orders at Nuremberg). In the second place, from the year 1549 on he planned a revolt against the emperor whose real plans now were clear to him; but he kept these plans secret, even from his "evil genius," his intimate advisor, Carlowitz, who did not dream of Maurice's real intentions. The siege of Magdeburg, which he protracted intentionally as long as was necessary (answering any urging on the emperor's side by requests for the necessary funds!) to conclude his treaties with the Lutheran princes and

with Henry of France, the son and successor of Francis I.

The Causes of Maurice's Revolt. These were manifold. The treason of 1548 made Maurice, in his own subjects' eyes, as well as those of all Germany, the "modern Judas, who had sold his party for an elector's title," whilst John Frederick was praised as martyr of Lutheranism. The indignation increased when he produced the Leipzig Interim; now he was considered a traitor in matters of faith, though he hardly tried to introduce it into his country. The protest of Flacius and his associates against the Leipzig Interim aroused public consciousness to such a degree that it drove Maurice onward on his way of revolt. The emperor kept John Frederick as prisoner so as to have him handy (if necessary) against Maurice, if he should dare to disobey the imperial demands. Furthermore, he had political grievances and charges against the emperor. Charles had again and again broken his imperial promise (which was only too true); he had broken his inaugural oath in decreasing the power of the German princes, in keeping two rulers of royal blood in shameful captivity (a thing unheard of in Germany for three hundred years), in bringing in and keeping foreign troops in Germany without the consent of the electors. All this was true. Hence Maurice made himself the religious and political champion of Germany and placed himself at the head of the national sentiment.

The Revolt. Charles V, though often warned, did not see through the schemes of his pupil in politics, but was entirely surprised when Maurice marched his

army (which he had kept together over the winter under the pretence that he could not yet pay them off) against the emperor himself. He came in forced marches via Leipzig, Naumburg, Weimar, Erfurt, Bischofsheim (where the Hessian levies joined him), Schweinfurt, Rosenburg (where Albert Achilles came to him), and entered Augsburg already on April 5, 1552, as the champion of Lutheranism, which he at once restored in the Interim cities. Charles in vain appealed for help to his Catholic partisans. Ferdinand had been sorely offended by Charles's plans of succession. He did no more than meet Maurice to learn his demands. Maurice was quick in his actions; he took the Ehrenburg Pass, and arrived at Ingolstadt only a few hours after the rheumatic Charles had been carried in a litter over mountain by-paths to Villach in Carinthia, to which place Ferdinand and the elector (previously declared free) had accompanied him. Ferdinand now arranged a truce. A convention of princes was held at Passau to conclude peace—in reality only a truce, until the legal forms should be used at the next diet.

The Treaty of Passau (1522) and the Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty (1555). Maurice (though not in condition to dictate peace) could not gain all his points, and finally had to take all he could get (August 2, 1552). The stipulations were: 1. Maurice was to disband his army or turn it over to Ferdinand to be used against the Turks (he led them in person under Ferdinand's command in the same fall). 2. Philip of Hessia was to be set free by August 12, but must promise not to take revenge for his

humiliation. 3. The religious question was to be settled in the future either at some diet or council or colloquy. 4. Neither side shall disturb the other. 5. No change of Constitution shall take place. A separate stipulation contained the declaration that in case the religious matter cannot be settled peacefully, the present condition is to be permanent. Neither Maurice nor the emperor was satisfied with the peace, and laid plans for a defeat of the opponent; for the present both sides had to be satisfied with what they had gained. But the career of Maurice soon ended at Sievershausen in March, 1553, where he routed the marauding Albert Achilles (who refused to ratify the Passau treaty and carried on war on his own responsibility, thereby endangering the cause of Maurice). Maurice here was mortally wounded by a gunshot in the abdomen, and died a few days after his decisive victory.

The Religious Peace of Augsburg (which was not concluded until 1555, because Charles had to fight against Henry II of France, the ally of Maurice) was concluded by Ferdinand, and was drawn on the same lines as the Passau Treaty. It stipulated:

1. Catholics and Lutherans stand on equal footing in the empire.

2. The rule for the religious status shall be: *Cujus regio, ejus religio; i.e.,* each prince has free hand in religious matters in his territory. Provided, however, that non-conforming subjects shall be permitted to emigrate. In the imperial cities everything shall remain as at present.

In publishing this agreement Ferdinand added a

"rider"—the so-called *Reservatum ecclesiasticum:* Any clerical or ecclesiastical ruler (abbot, bishop or archbishop at the same time ruler of a province) must resign in favor of a Catholic successor if he personally becomes a Lutheran. (In other words: No ecclesiastical territory shall be made officially Lutheran or secularized). In these territories Lutheran subjects must be tolerated. This stipulation, not a part of the original treaty and not approved by the Lutherans, contained the germs for counter-reformation and for the terrible thirty years' war.

The End of Charles's Reign. Charles's policy had failed in every respect. He could not erect an absolute monarchy in Germany, nor retain the Hapsburg possessions undivided, nor subdue the reformation. He formally abdicated in Germany in 1555, turned over the government of the Netherlands to his only son, Philip, in the same year, and that of Spain in 1556. "It was September, 1556, before he could leave for his long-chosen place of retirement in Spain, accompanied by his two sisters, the widow of the French king and Mary of Hungary. But he did not live a monastic life even at Yuste. Messengers with political dispatches came to him every day. However, he took no active part in affairs. He lived his few remaining months on earth amid works of art, amid the books which, as a cultured man, he studied and took pleasure in, and enjoyed the music which he loved, whilst he prepared himself for the life to come.")[1] He died September 21, 1558.

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[1] Cath. Encycl., II, 629.

5. THE TIME AFTER CHARLES V.

THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF LUTHERANISM. In 1556 Ottheinrich, the third elector, joined the Lutheran ranks, and in Catholic Bavaria as well as in Hapsburg possessions and the ecclesiastical territories Lutheranism continued to spread. In vain Ferdinand tried to stem the flood. He did not succeed. But he called in those who, later on, almost overcame Lutheranism, the Spanish priests, or *Compania Jesu,* better known as Jesuits. Maximilian II had been educated under evangelical influences, much to the grief of his uncle, Charles. Only his fanatic Catholic wife (a daughter of Charles V) and political reasons prevented him from joining the Lutheran Church. He took great interest in the development of the same, and encouraged Jakob Andreae in his endeavors to make an end to the doctrinal controversies through a Formula of Concord. Under his reign the reformation of Germany territorially reached its high-water mark. The clerical bishoprics which were subject to secular princes were secularized and virtually annexed to Brandenburg (Havelberg, Brandenburg, Lebus) and Saxony (Naumburg, Merseburg, Meissen). In the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen (under the control of noblemen through the noble-born members of the chapters which filled the vacancies) the Lutherans finally had a majority of votes and elected Lutheran lay administrators. The same happened in eight bishoprics entitled to a seat in the imperial diet (Halberstadt, Verden, Osnabrueck, Minden, Luebeck, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, Kammin). In order to retain their legal standing and political prerogatives, they re-

tained the old form of organization, and paid their pallium and other fees to Rome. In Maximilian's time the Form of Concord was composed.

In 1570 about seven-tenths of the population of the German empire (this did not include Prussia, which was outside of the German empire and formed a part of the kingdom of Poland) was Lutheran, two-tenths belonged to the Reformed Church or to sects, and only one-tenth was yet Catholic. But the counter-reformation movement (which reached its climax in the thirty years' war) was well under way under the direction of the Jesuits. Already in 1557 Bavaria had been catholicized.

Under Rudolph II (1576-1612) the Catholic reaction became threatening. In Austria severe measures were used by his brothers. Foremost among these was Ferdinand II (afterwards the emperor), who had been educated by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt. He had there already declared: "I would rather give up land and people and go away in nothing but a shirt than sanction what might be injurious to religion." Under Rudolph the Form of Concord was published.

Retrospect. Thus we see how the external condition had at first been most dangerous immediately after Luther's death. The Smalcald War left political hatred (between ducal and electoral Saxony) and envy (between Saxony and Palatia) in its wake. The Lutheran estates had no common interests, and each one took care of dear little self. Through the Peace of Augsburg the separation of the provincial churches had been sanctioned and permanent peace had been guaranteed between Catholicism and Lutheranism.

Lutheranism had continued to spread. A little cloud was appearing on the horizon—the counter-reformation policy of the Jesuits.

This was the historical political background of the time in which the Form of Concord was adopted as a Lutheran symbol. But in order to understand it close attention must be paid to the internal condition of Lutheranism. We, therefore, now turn our attention to the doctrinal development. This is of eminent importance, though it is frequently almost unknown even in its general outlines.

CHAPTER II

The Doctrinal Development of Lutheranism from 1546-1576

6. Melanchthon as a Leader

Remark: Schmauk, in his splendid analysis of Melanchthon, in his "Confessional Principles," pages 609-636, discusses the whole of Melanchthon's qualifications and his weakness. We refer to this best discussion of this question known to us. In the following we have to point out only those sides of Melanchthon's work which left their imprint upon the time under discussion, and these are only the dark sides. We wish it to be expressly understood that he possessed many excellent traits of character and capacities, which we fully recognize and appreciate, though we cannot enumerate or discuss them here, as they have no connection with our topic. For we shall now discuss the failures of the Lutheran Church.

Schmauk on Melanchthon's Characteristics. "Melanchthon was not a man for a crisis, nor for theological utterance in the sense of declaring and establishing the Faith in public differences. His examination, apprehension, estimation, expression, and even use of faith, in public affairs, were of the school and not of the apostolic order."[1] "So soon as the welfare of the Church was concerned in any movement, or so soon as ties of sympathy and friendship appealed to him from an opposite party, Melanchthon was at sea, miserable and dejected in his own mind, and filled

[1] Schmauk, "The Conf. Principle," page 613.

with some plan to extricate the cause or the man . . . by the devices and diplomacy of human reason, rather than inspired by the endeavor simply to do the right thing, and then leave the final issue to the Lord."[1]

Melanchthon's public grasp of such subject-matter even in his free and facile moods, was that of epitome. The mind of Melanchthon was assimilative, not creative, . . . illuminative, summaristic and naturally expressive."[2] "As a teacher of logic, and in theology—except as to form of discussion—Melanchthon was not germinal, but reflexive and practical, without an inner and constant principle of unfolding."[3]

SCHMAUK ON MELANCHTHON'S WEAKNESS. His weakness is described thus: 1. He lacked the faith of Luther. 2. His faith was not firm and great. 3. His faith was not firm because his reason was busy and halting in a mystery which it never would solve. 4. He was instinctively willing to enter into compromise, on account of his great timidity, or cowardice. 5. His most prominent characteristic is his desire for union, now with the Catholic Church and then with the Reformed. 6. His diplomacy was a total failure in every case. 7. His dreadful fear and trembling, and his lack of trust and confidence, in the crisis of the Church through which it passed, worked havoc.[4]

THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF MELANCHTHON'S POLICY. The practical attainments of the Melanchthonian principles for the Church after Luther's death may be summed up in this one sentence: It had its

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[1] Same, page 615.
[2] Same, page 617.
[3] Same, page 621.
[4] Same, pages 627-635.

trial, and, after a generation, brought the Church to the verge of shipwreck.

7. MELANCHTHON'S UNIONISTIC ENDEAVORS

INSTANCES OF HIS INNATE PROPENSITY TO YIELD. Whenever Melanchthon was called upon to represent the Church and to act as its spokesman, we find that he enters into negotiations of compromise and unionism. Thus at Augsburg. In the Augsburg Confession he gave voice to the doctrine of Luther; but when the Romanists opposed him, his whole work was to strike the best possible bargain, so as to retain as much as possible.[1] He had previously done the same thing towards Erasmus, and he did the same thing in the Leipzig Interim, in the Eucharist Controversy, in the Frankfurt Recess. The same tendency showed itself over against the Reformed theologians. Whilst his negotiations with the Romanists were total failures (since the Romanists would not accept a compromise), his advances were accepted by Calvin in the expectation of receiving more later on, and used against the Lutheran Church.

The doctrinal history between 1546-1576 is in reality a history of Melanchthonian concessions and the necessary reaction against his twofold endeavors to reach

[1] His negotiations at Augsburg became so scandalous that Luther was called upon to interfere and bring him to reason, lest he would betray the Lutheran side for a few flimsy and non-essential concessions. It was then that Luther wrote those letters to and about Melanchthon which Flacius published in the time when the Leipzig Interim was under construction.

a union by compromising the Church of the Reformation.

8. MELANCHTHON AND ROMANISM

1. The Augsburg and Leipzig Interims

Remark: Compromise is a barter. A price is set and a lower price is offered until a bargain is struck. The Augsburg Interim was the offer of Charles V; the Leipzig Interim was Melanchthon's final counter offer.

THE INTENTION OF CHARLES V. As a good Catholic, Charles had the medieval idea of the relation of state and church. This idea deduces all power from above; all power of the state has been given by God to the emperor (either directly, as the imperialists claimed, or indirectly through the pope as the curialists claimed); all power of the Church has been given by God to the pope (either directly, as the curialists claimed, or through the bishops, as the episcopalists claimed). As there can be but one empire, so there can be but one church within the empire. This medieval idea is the principle underlying the policy of Charles. In trying to restore the unity of the Church the emperor sought to safeguard his own interests as much as those of the Church.

In forcing the Augsburg Interim upon his subjects, his intention was to restore the Catholic Church gradually, as had been done through the Compact of Basle. His intention is plainly revealed in the introduction. The Protestants are admonished either to return at once and completely to the Catholic Church, or at least they must accept this temporary arrangement.

The Catholics must hold fast to what they have and make no concessions. But what afterwards? A council, in which the Lutherans should be represented, might grant exceptional privileges (as had been done at Basle to the Hussites). But if it did not, the Protestants must submit to the inevitable.

As stated above, most princes accepted the Interim. The "born elector," John Frederick, absolutely refused, even when he might have purchased his freedom and other concessions by doing so. Philip of Hessia accepted it in the hopes of being set free. Very many accepted and tried to safeguard the interests of Lutheranism by new provisions, *e.g.,* Wuertemberg, where Lutheran preachers were appointed "catechists" or "predicants." In other countries other interpretations were put upon the regulations, as f. i., that the use of meat on Friday was forbidden on account of high prices. In Lower Saxony the Interim was either ignored or absolutely rejected. Charles could tolerate a merely nominal adoption, since it was merely a question of time, anyway, when the permanent status should be determined by the council. Hence the interimistic policy of the emperor failed only in so far as large territories refused obedience. There can be no doubt that Charles was laying his plans in respect to these matters at the very time when his pupil defeated him by his own methods.

The Intention of Maurice. Maurice would have submitted only too gladly to the emperor. He stood at that time too much under the evil influence of Carlowitz, an old enemy of Luther. And, besides, he had just received his new dignity, and was reminded by

the emperor of his grace. He had not yet received more which had been promised (Magdeburg and Halberstadt). If he refused, and thereby shattered the emperor's plans, Charles might restore the former elector to his former dignity, whose subjects would welcome the beloved martyr with triumph. It was essential that the largest landholder in the empire, now the most powerful prince, should give a good example to all. But Maurice had (with the emperor's knowledge and consent) assured his subjects that before any changes were to be made they would be consulted and heard. In vain did therefore Charles instruct Maurice to use the same means that he was applying—lenient compulsion. As soon as he saw from the opinion of Melanchthon that it was absolutely impossible to force the Augsburg Interim upon his Church, he busied himself with a compromise measure. This fitted splendidly into the new, secret plans which he now conceived. He needed no more than an "Interim," a temporary arrangement until his chance would come; then the Interim would be overthrown.

The Leipzig Interim a Compromise. It was in these negotiations that Melanchthon made Carlowitz his confessor, and revealed his innermost secret—his love of bargaining, his weakness for compromise, his cowardice in the hour of danger. When the adviser of the new elector knew this secret of the leader of Lutheranism, he knew exactly how to handle him. He merely had to offer a much lower price and continue to barter until he had reached his end. Maurice's estimate of Romanism was also correct; it lays more stress upon the outward forms than upon doctrine.

Hence he planned a compromise which would retain what the Lutherans placed above everything, namely, the doctrine which could be clothed in ambiguous form to please the Romanists, and yet contained what they demanded—concessions in regard to organization and church forms. And the theologians? At first they permitted themselves to be made tools to compose such a compromise measure, and then, after they had concocted what they knew to be a partial denial, they promised not to protest, but remain silent when it was forced upon the Church by a dictate of the ruler. Their acts were on a line with the officers who would see a breach in the fortifications and would promise to remain silent in regard to the danger imminent at that place.

2. The Opposition to the Interims—Was It Justified?

The Augsburg Interim and the Opposition to It. As usual, Melanchthon's first impulses were the correct ones, coming before his thoughts and actions were influenced by fears and bargaining propensities. When Maurice submitted the Interim to him, he at once replied (C. R., VI, page 839, No. 4189) and summed up his impression in the words: "To conclude, for these reasons, I will not encumber my conscience with this book" (April 1, 1548). And two weeks later (page 854, No. 4201): "I am surprised that they glory that this agreement is an admission concerning faith as it is understood in our churches by the pious and learned, since the form of this article is fundamentally in contradiction to this concept, though the deception is very fine; it can be recognized neverthe-

less." He points out a series of errors in the articles. In private letters he was more outspoken than in his "opinions" (which might be presented to the emperor).[1] But the principle according to which he acted was: "Save as much as you can!" Hence he advised Maurice and the estates: If they could not possibly induce the emperor to grant them the privilege of leaving everything just as it was in Saxony, they should meet him half way (as Maurice suggested), and save the doctrine by conceding accommodation in organization and church forms. This was exactly what Maurice desired; now he could shield himself by the name of the great leader.

In southern Germany Charles succeeded in forcing the Interim upon the Lutheran princes and cities. Everybody looked to Melanchthon, the leader.

3. Melanchthon and the Augsburg Interim

Appeals to Melanchthon. While the negotiations concerning the Augsburg Interim were going on, Melanchthon made no secret among friends that he condemned it. The emperor, who had read also his self-prostitution before Carlowitz, scared Melanchthon, whose cowardice he knew right well, by demanding, or at least suggesting to Maurice, that he should

[1] "And we should not burden ourselves by the gravest blasphemies, which are the denial of the recognized truth" (April 24, letter No. 4213 in C. R.). "If I should give judgment upon my own danger and in my place, I would say simply and in the Socratic method, that I should not assent to these sophisms." (Letter No. 4216, page 878 (cf., also Nos. 4230, 4233, 4250, 4257, 4264, 4274; Vol. VII, Nos. 4308, 4319, 4321.)

turn this "arch-heretic" over to him. Melanchthon did not dare to publish anything against the Interim. From all sides appeals came to him. Casp. Aquila wrote: "Thou holy man, reply and breath, defend the word and name of Christ and His glory, which is the highest possession on earth, from that virulent sycophant (Agricola).[1] And Brenz, himself an exile on account of his steadfastness, wrote to him: "You think, perhaps, that the Interimists will tolerate the true doctrine if we accept all their ceremonies to do them. But do you not know that it is plainly commanded in the beginning of the Interim that no one shall speak or write against this book?"[2] And when he had already been ensnared by the crafty politicians, Corvinus, the leader of Braunschweig-Calenberg, addressed him, pleading: "Oh, my Philip, oh, I say, our Philip, return through the immortal Christ to the former candor, to the former sincerity, to the constancy! Do not make the minds of our people languish by your fright and half-heartedness! . . . You must not be the author of such immense offences within the Church! Do not permit your so excellent writings, words, acts, by which you have done so wonderfully much for the Church and schools, to be turned in such a way through that fault of disregard, innovation, moderation! Think how much courage your plans give on the one hand, to the opposite, and, on the other hand, rob our side! We pray that, mindful of your profession, you and your Wittenberg men

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[1] C. R. VII, July 22, 1548, No. 4302.
[2] C. R. VII, No. 4452.

would conduct yourselves as you did conduct yourselves in the beginning of this matter, that is, that you would think, speak, write, do those things which become Philip, the Christian teacher, not the court philosopher."[1]

The Opposition to the Leipzig Interim. There was at least one man among the Wittenberg theologians who decisively warned Melanchthon. It is true, he was a young man; he had only twenty-eight years over against Melanchthon's fifty-one. He had not yet published a single book; he had taken his philosophic degree only four years before, and his theological just a few months. He was a favorite and intimate pupil of the Preceptor. He was not implicated in the snares, since he was an obscure professor of Hebrew. This was Matthias Flacius. But he saw through the schemes by which Melanchthon was being throttled. He tried to open his teacher's eyes. He spoke to Melanchthon; he begged him on his knees to make an end of all schemes by one energetic "No!" He put his arguments into writing and presented them. But in vain! This was between July and November, 1548. But the "Leader" had lost courage, and would not sound the alarm. Then Flacius, into whose hands some of Melanchthon's "opinions" had come, considered it his duty to speak for the master. He published these documents anonymously to the world in July, 1548. What a scare this must have been for Luther's successor when he saw his "opinions" in print. Flacius

[1] Tschakert, *"Entstehung der luth. und ref. Kirchenlehre,"* page 506.

also published his own arguments under three pseudonyms against the endeavors to produce a compromise formula. Of course, the author could not remain hidden; he betrayed himself through his incessant endeavors in the faculty by his slogan, "No concessions." He was no longer safe at Wittenberg, so he resigned, and found a home in the city of refuge, Magdeburg, about Easter, 1549. From there he issued one pamphlet after another, and from there he led the attacks upon both Interims. If the eyes of the people were opened, if the public opinion was aroused, if the pressure of public opinion began to be felt in politics, if Maurice was compelled to shape his course accordingly, so that he now fully decided to head the Lutheran party and undo the damage he had done—then this is due in a large measure to Flacius, the self-constituted leader in a time when the official leaders became weak and hopeless.

4. Who Was the True Representative of Lutheranism —Melanchthon or Flacius?

How Must We Consider the Controversy? We cannot enter here into the details of the adiaphoristic controversy.[1] But there can be no doubt that in regard to principle Flacius was right and Melanchthon wrong. This is the concurrent opinion of all Lutheran historians, and also of most others. Frank says: "Before all it had been the merit of Flacius (though not without excessive polemics) to have opposed the conces-

[1] For these details see Preger, Matthias Flacius *und seine Zeit,* the best monograph extant on this question.

sions of the Melanchthonian side and to have assisted the Church clearly to understand this question before it."[1]

Calvin to Melanchthon. "Now when he has drawn us into the battle-grounds, we must oppose ourselves so much more manfully. Your condition is another one than that of many; for it is more disgraceful for the leaders or standard-bearers to tremble than for the mass of soldiers to flee."

9. Melanchthon and Calvinism

The Condition of Affairs. To understand the position of Melanchthon and Philippism in general, we must keep in mind the great difference between the Swiss and Luther. We can find the interpretation of Melanchthon's actions only in his innate propensity to compromise in order to have peace. The lack of confessional appreciation shows itself as much here as in the Interim matters. The difference is: In the Interim the concessions were made on account of fear of what might possibly come; and here they were made so as to retain the friendship and alliance of Calvin and his party. Also here the endeavor of Melanchthon is to strike the best possible bargain. Also here the former position of the Preceptor is the right one, which he is willing to barter away. Luther had proclaimed his doctrine; Melanchthon had been his mouthpiece. Carlstadt and Zwingli had opposed a fundamentally different doctrine of salvation, the full significance of

[1] Frank, *"Die Theologie der Concordienformel,"* iv, page 3.

which is much clearer to us than it could possibly be at that time. Luther had never wavered, but always had the word of God before his eyes, and because the doctrine was that of his Lord and God, "he stood there and could not do otherwise." If Luther was great at Worms in the face of his enemies, he was also great at Marburg in the face of his "friends." His unconditional allegiance to the words of his God is the key to understand his actions in both instances. For him everything was settled by the clear word.

Then came the time when Luther was taken from the battlefield of the Church and when Melanchthon was the leader. He would not surrender unconditionally to Zwingli. But if the Swiss met him half-way, he was willing to meet them likewise. The matter was for him a doctrine of the Church. In Calvin such concessions were made to Lutheranism. Melanchthon now tried to find and coin such terms and phrases as would be acceptable to both sides, without surrender from either side. If the Interims were coats made from the snippets of Romanism and Lutheranism, then the eucharist articles of Melanchthon were made from the snippets of Reformed and Lutheran books. They were called "Polish boots" at that time, because Polish boots could be pulled on either foot.

Did Melanchthon Become a Calvinist? This claim has been made. It is not true. Melanchthon had a double soul (Seeberg)—a public one and a private one. If we trust the repeated statements of Melanchthon as to his relation to Luther, we cannot but admit that he was on the side of Luther to the end. He contended, however, not for the facts (as Luther),

but for the phrases. He himself states, as late as 1556: "I have never changed the doctrine of the Confession,"[1] and also, 1557: "Concerning the eucharist we retain the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession and Apology."[2] In the Coswig negotiations he expressed his adherence to the Smalcald Articles, and he knew right well what words Luther had there used concerning the eucharist.

Frank and Schmid on this Question. "It may be stated confidently that Melanchthon never, neither in his earlier nor in his later time, arrived at a fully clear and lasting certainty in the understanding of the dogma of the eucharist."

The Peculiarities of Melanchthonianism. As Melanchthon, impelled by the dread of coming ruin, had tried to meet the Romanists half-way, so he tried to meet the "friends" half-way in the eucharist question. This might be done, in his judgment, if the opposition to the Romanist doctrine of transubstantiation and what was connected with it was emphasized on both sides; if the empty doctrine of Zwingli was rejected; if the sacramental character of the institution was emphasized; if the practical use was made preeminent, and, finally, if wide and ambiguous terms were adopted which might be used for two (though diametrically opposed) doctrines. In other words, no confession should be made concerning the distinctive doctrine.

The Peculiarities of the Philippists. The Philippists started from the position of their teacher, but

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[1] C. R. VIII, page 841. [2] C. R. IX, page 371.

they went beyond him. More and more they abandoned the doctrine which Luther had confessed. Whilst Melanchthon desired to extend the hand of fellowship across the dividing line, they knowingly and willingly went one step further—stepped beyond the dividing line. When they considered their position, they found themselves where?—among the Calvinists. Some may have deceived themselves. The leaders knew that they were no longer Lutherans, but Calvinists. Their moral and legal crime was not that they held the conviction of Calvin, but that they pretended again and again to be Lutherans, when they knew perfectly well that they were Calvinists. The *"Exegesis Perspicua"* and their own admissions to Peucer convict them.

10. THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF MELANCHTHON'S POLICY

THE CONSEQUENCES. The consequences were most disastrous: 1. Melanchthon's policy caused division for a long time. Melanchthon and Brenz were the two men considered as leaders at the time of Luther's death. The former proved himself incapable of leadership. He lost courage in time of danger; he acted as he had acted in 1530 at Augsburg—in a cowardly way. By leading into the Interim (passively and actively) a great number of the Lutherans, there would in future be at least three factions—the former Augsburg Interimists, the former Leipzig Interimists, and the steadfast ones who had rejected both. All of them would suspect and mistrust one another. 2. This inner disharmony inevitably produced a spirit of suspicion. It

was but human that the steadfast theologians did not put the "most charitable construction" on the acts and words of Melanchthon, especially after he had intentionally used ambiguous phrases in the Leipzig Interim. And Melanchthon paid them in the same coin. This spirit of suspicion received new nourishment in the compromise endeavors over against Calvin. 3. The suspicions produced wrangling with words. Ambiguous words were used without intention; these were criticised by the other side. Then they were defended in a false sense not originally connected with them and produced new differences. 4. The orthodox side drove the Philippist side deeper into errors through their lack of true Christian love and charity. This is so often the case. How much blood shall be charged to those who are right and defend the truth, God only knows. 5. A bitter and spiteful tone developed. It is customary to point out this fault on the side of Flacius; it was there. But it was present in no less degree on the other side. The documents convict one side as well as the other. 6. These internal struggles weakened the Lutheran side and wasted valuable lives. To give just one example: If Flacius even in his exile produced works which have won the unqualified admiration of modern scholars, as his Centuriones, his Clavis and his Glossa, how much could be done if his talents had been conservated and applied constructively.[1] 7. These struggles also weak-

[1] Catholic Encycl. iii, 534: "His wanderings after 1562, and the numerous domestic controversies in which Flacius took part until his death (March 11, 1575) did not prevent him

ened the strength of the Church and opened the way as well for the Roman counter-reformation as for the Calvinistic conquest of Lutheran countries. The effect of the thirty years' war within the Lutheran Church (1548-1576) can be compared only to the civil deluge seventy years later.

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from becoming the most learned Lutheran theologian of his day."

CHAPTER III

The Different Parties

II. THE EXTREMES

1. What Did Flacius Defend? It has been pointed out of late (Seeberg, Loofs) that Melanchthon had taught the Flacianists that purity of doctrine consists in the retention of the doctrine as formulated by orthodox teachers. Flacius in the Interim controversy defended a principle and not a scholastic phrase. But in this controversy already he was turning to be such a traditionalist. More so in the other controversies that grew from it. More and more the slogan became: "The pure Lutheran doctrine."[1] A dogmatistic spirit developed which laid more stress upon confessional purity than Scriptural correctness. Later on the leaders established, imitating the example of Melanchthon, their own pet phrases, for which they fought with the greatest zeal.[2] The fanatical spirit which developed blinded them to the importance of deepening and increasing insight into evangelical truths. This became more prominent with the associates and followers of Flacius than with the leaders of the extremists.

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[1] A new edition of Luther's works was published at Jena, because the Wittenberg edition was claimed to be corrupted.

[2] *E.g.,* Original sin is man's nature; sin is the substance of man; man is like a trunk; man is converted against his will.

2. In What Respect Did Flacius Err? As the school of Melanchthon fought for the scholastic phrases of Melanchthon, so Flacius fought for certain phrases of Luther. Luther's words became not a testimony of the great witness, endowed by God with exceptional gifts, and qualified as few in the history of the Church, but as those of a prophet whose words are true and infallible in themselves. By developing the phraseological theology (*Phrasentheologie*), individual opinions and factors were snatched from their connection and an emphasis was laid upon dismembered articles, which Luther would have denounced without qualification. This drove Flacius into his idiosyncrasies, which finally brought ruin to his party and drove more considerate men from the ranks of the extremists.

3. What Did Melanchthon Stand For? Melanchthon more than once testified that he did not differ from Flacius. He admitted that in the Interim controversy Flacius had been right, and that he had been wrong. In the Majoristic controversy he openly (privately with still more emphasis) rejected the phrases of his associates. In the Flacian controversy on sin, and at least in part in the synergistic controversy he refused to denounce Flacius as a heretic; he rejected the phraseology of his opponent, not the substance (cf. Colloquy of Worms). But he tried also here to compromise instead of deciding and judging. By doing this he did most harm to his friends. The error of his compromise policy can be clearly seen, if we ask: What would Melanchthon have done in the age of Paul? Would he have made a compromise

with the Judaists? What would he have done in the age of Irenaeus? of Athanasius? of Augustine? If we must compromise with opposing tendencies, what will be our position against "modern criticism"? Ritschlianism? Russellism? any ism?

4. WHAT DID THE PHILIPPISTS DEFEND? (*a*) They defended the scholastic phrases of the Preceptor. And in doing so they frequently did not catch his exact meaning and developed errors that he had not taught.[1] (*b*) They represented his policy of compromise in relation to the Calvinists. They used phrases which might be understood correctly. They tried to cover up the existing differences. When attacked on account of these phrases, they defended them, and more and more adopted the Calvinistic doctrine. And in the end those countries where they were received as innocent martyrs of Philippism, through their influence were taken over into the Calvinistic side. For

[1] An example: He had used the definition: Conversion consists of contrition and faith. He had later changed his definition: Conversion consists of contrition, faith and good works. And in the period which we are discussing (speaking of what we would call "the new life"), he had used the phrase: three factors concur in "conversion." His pupils took the latter phrase and applied it to the former definition, and in this way produced an entirely new doctrine (synergism). Another instance: Melanchthon had used the term "gospel" as a synecdoche (mentioning the most important part to designate the whole, *e.g.*, sail for ship, roof for house, nose for individual, head for cattle), meaning "the word of God." His pupils did not understand him, but clung to his phraseology and interpreted it as the gospel in the restricted sense, or "the blessed message."

they induced the princes through their untruthful claims to follow them.

12. THE MIDDLE PARTY

1. The Outsiders. Not all theologians of that time were either Flacianists or Philippists. Not a few parts of the Lutheran Church were not even touched by these controversies. Some were so far removed from the seat of conflict that they heard little of the noise it produced, and hence took no sides. This was the case with the Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The same may be said of Prussia and Pomerania, where the Philippistic *Corpus Misnicum* was adopted as symbolical book, but was supplemented by Lutheran declarations.

2. The Swabians. Others refused to take sides and remained neutral. This was the case in southern Germany, where Brenz was and remained the steadfast leader. He had been the intimate friend of Luther and Melanchthon. He did not compromise in the time of the Interim, but spoke bitter truths (not about, but) to Melanchthon. He did not compromise in the eucharist controversy, but came out with a clear and explicit confession. Still he remained a friend of Melanchthon. He also condemned the fanaticism of Flacius. He was no synergist, and so did not approve of the phrases of Melanchthon.

3. The Lutheran Melanchthonians. Then there were others who had studied under Luther and Melanchthon, and therefore tried to retain the common teaching of both, without the craze for scholastic phrases and the hankering after compromise. These

were Lutheran Melanchthonians, "who took the more charitable views, put the best construction upon them, and were reluctant to abandon one to whom the Church owed so much, and whom Luther had loved so dearly."[1] Such were many Lower Saxons and many in Saxony; such were, above all, Chemnitz and Chytraeus, pupils of Melanchthon, but sound to the core in the Lutheran doctrine. And there were not a few who either had been Flacianists or had been confused by Philippistic vagueness, who left the extreme parties and joined these Luthero-Melanchthonians.

4. The Common People. The controversialists were mostly the scholars and theologians. It is true that the common people were in a measure drawn into them by hearing the matter discussed from the pulpit and by reading some of the many pamphlets; but they rarely took an active part in the troubles. They had to suffer the consequences.

Why Did This Party Oppose Flacius?

There can be no doubt that as to doctrine they sided with Flacius, and were in sympathy with him more than with his opponents. They disapproved of the policy of Melanchthon in reference to the Interims. But they also disapproved of several features found in the Flacian party, namely:

1. The spiteful hatred and the tone which gradually was developed by the opponents of the Preceptor.
2. The way in which they tried to humiliate their ad-

[1] Krauth, "Conservative Reformation," page 291.

versaries by denouncing each error by the name of the author. 3. The hyperbolic phrases of Flacius and others. 4. The one-sidedness of Flacianism and its extreme factional character.

In What Did They Stand for Luther?

1. They taught with Luther that the doctrine is not the product of the Church or teachers, but that it is the revelation of God.

2. Doctrine is a matter, in the first place, of the Church, and not of the individual teacher.

3. The doctrine is to be taken directly from the Scriptures, no matter whether the ancient Church knew and approved of it or not.

4. Higher than tradition (Lutheran or ancient) is the exegetical proof. (Hence we find the best exegetes among these middle men.)

5. They make a distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines.

6. They distinguish between faith and dogmatics; between the creed and its scientific presentation.

7. They continued the work of original investigations in the Scriptures.

8. They oppose all compromises, where the least part of the doctrine is to be sacrificed for the sake of peace.

9. They oppose all ambiguous or indistinct formulas by which contradictory statements are to be harmonized.

In all this they act in the spirit of Luther, and thus represent the truly Lutheran element of the Church.

In What Did They Stand for Melanchthon?

1. They recognized and appreciated the great gifts of Melanchthon, without overlooking his weakness.

2. They admitted that for ecclesiastical use the doctrine of the Church must be formulated and constructed scientifically.

3. This construction must emphasize the historic continuity, except where we recognize errors in former teachers.

4. The correct definitions are of prime importance for the system of the doctrine, and should be both as plain and as detailed as possible.

What was the Result of Their Work?

They combined the great characteristics of both teachers. With Luther they emphasized the material, and based their faith and their theology absolutely on the word of God; with Melanchthon they endeavored to construe and develop it as well as they could. Imitating Luther, they quarried deeper in the divine quarries opened by him; imitating Melanchthon they polished and fitted the treasures discovered into their respective places of the dogmatical system. With Luther they demanded absolute agreement in the explicit doctrines of salvation as the one bond uniting the Christians; with Melanchthon they tried to unite all that held these truths by means of the best possible definitions and presentations. With Luther they laid the one and indestructible foundation, upon which with Melanchthon they continued to build, being very careful to choose only the precious stones in the construction of the Lutheran system.

The grandest and most permanent record of their work is the Formula of Concord, in which they presented their work, and thus saved the Lutheran Church from schisms. They thereby prepared the way for future theological labors on the old basis. The Formula of Concord presents to us one of the three forms of conclusion of doctrinal development of the Christian Church since the days of the apostles. It presents especially the ripe fruit of the soteriological controversies.[1] In Luther we have the reaction against the errors of medieval Augustinianism, and the Formula of Concord presents the results in a scientific delineation.

Calvin, on the other hand, retained some of the philosophic, speculative errors of Augustine, and developed them into a system. Through the compromise endeavors of Philippism the former symbolical declarations were endangered. This called forth the reaction of Lutheranism, and found its final culmination in the Formula. In this way this document saved the genuine Lutheran Church. "Hopeless division, anarchy and absorption were the perils from which the Form of Concord saved our Church. The loss of Germany would have been the loss of Lutheranism throughout the world, and with it of Protestantism itself."[2] "It established the Confession (Augustana)

[1] Augustine defended the soteriology of the Bible. But, influenced by philosophical thought and method, he did not succeed in eliminating all errors from his doctrine. His errors were emphasized by his interpreter for the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great. In the scholastic theology of the middle ages these were then constructed into a doctrinal system which was more or less semi-Pelagian.

[2] Krauth, "Cons. Ref.," page 328.

and Apology forever as the Confession of the Church as a whole." "The war of the Formula was fought for great principles; it was bravely and uncompromisingly fought, but it was fought magnanimously under the old banner of the cross. It was crowned with victory, and that victory brought peace."[1]

13. THE CONTROVERSIES[2]

1. THE INTERIMISTIC OR ADIAPHORISTIC CONTROVERSY. The most important features of this controversy have been related above in No. 8. Melanchthon had been frightened into consenting unto a compromise Interim, by which the Lutheran doctrine in a most indefinite form had been retained, but Roman ceremonies had been reintroduced and made obligatory. The pretence was that these matters were non-essential. Flacius attacked the position of Melanchthon, and claimed that under the conditions of the time these non-essentials became confessional tokens; a concession to the Romanists, therefore, was a practical denial of Lutheranism. On his side stood almost the whole Lutheran world; only Saxony and Brandenburg defended the policy of Melanchthon. With the revolt of Maurice and the Augsburg Peace, the Interim itself became a dead issue. But the controversy concerning the question, whether concessions might be made to enemies of the gospel in regard to ceremonies, etc.,

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[1] Same, page 327.

[2] Only the general outlines are given here. Particulars can be found in the introductions to the respective articles. A detailed statement here would lead us too far away from our subject.

without previous doctrinal unity, raged on. (For details see also Article 10, Introduction.)

2. The Osiandristic Controversy. This controversy broke out when Andreas Osiander, banished from Nurnberg because of refusing to accept the Augsburg Interim, proposed a new doctrine of justification. He taught that through faith Christ, the personified righteousness of God, makes habitation in the heart of man. This righteousness, on the one hand, overshadows all sin, and, on the other hand, impels the believer to good works. This is justification. Duke Albert of Prussia, who had called Osiander as chief professor and superintendent to Koenigsberg, interviewed the leading theologians (especially Melanchthon, Flacius and Brenz). The first rejected the doctrine of Osiander; the second likewise; the last saw little difference from Luther's doctrine. Stancarus, an opponent of Osiander, claimed that only the human righteousness of Christ is imputed to the believer. (For details see Article 3.)

3. The Majoristic Controversy. Amsdorf attacked the declaration of the Leipzig Interim, that good works are necessary unto salvation. Major became the champion of this phrase. Melanchthon rejected the sentence, but defended the assertion that good works are necessary. Amsdorf attacked his associate Menius for the same assertion, and formulated the parodox sentence: "Good works are detrimental to salvation." (For particulars see Article 4.)

4. The Antinomistic Controversies. John Agricola (afterwards the associate author of the Augsburg Interim) had attacked the statement of Melanchthon

(1527, and again 1537) that the law is necessary for conversion. Luther took issue with him and compelled him to recant. As a sequel to the Majoristic controversy some of the Gnesio-Lutherans denied that the law is binding upon the Christian. Some of the Philippists claimed that not the law, but the gospel, works contrition (mistaking the phraseology of Melanchthon). (For particulars see Articles 5 and 6.)

5. The Synergistic Controversy. Pfeffinger and Victorin Strigel (misunderstanding Melanchthon's assertion: "Three causes concur in conversion") claimed that man co-operates in conversion, and denied the total depravity of human nature. (See particulars in Article 2.)

6. The Flacian Controversy. In refuting the synergistic assertion of Strigel, Flacius claimed that the substance of man has become sin. This phrase was opposed not only by the synergists, but also by the Gnesio-Lutherans. (See particulars in Article 1.)

7. The Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy. After his death the pupils of Melanchthon continued the unionistic policy of their teacher, and incline more and more to the Calvinistic doctrine concerning the eucharist and Christology. They tried to veil their views by indefinite phrases and advocated union with the Calvinists. They endeavored gradually to win over August to their side. They were opposed by the Lutherans outside of Saxony. Their schemes finally were unmasked, and they were banished. (See introduction to Articles 7 and 8.)

CHAPTER IV

Endeavors for Unification

14. Endeavors to settle the matter between Flacius and Melanchthon

1. The Peacemakers. "The controversies, distractions and alienations described . . . created a feeling of sadness in the hearts of all true disciples of Luther and Melanchthon. Even the princes, not a few of whom cared more for themselves than for the Church, lamented the situation. By the close of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies the feeling prevailed widely that efforts should be made to restore concord. Fortunately there were theologians who had little or no association with the rivalries and quarrels of the Saxons, such as Duke Julius of Brunswick, Duke Christopher of Wuertemberg, Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel, and Count George Ernest of Henneberg." (Richard, page 400.)

2. The Method. The exponents of the two extreme parties were Flacius and Melanchthon. Back of their controversies were also petty political rivalries between Saxony, Palatia and ducal Saxony. Also personal enmity, injured pride, etc., was not missing. Melanchthon was largely influenced by the younger generation, which utilized his fame to cover their un-Lutheran tendencies. Different methods were proposed to make peace. A general synod was proposed,

especially by Flacius, who at that time was the champion of a free Church and the supremacy of the Christian congregations; he stood for ecclesiastical democracy. But such a plan was abominable to the autocratic rulers. Melanchthon was absolutely opposed to this plan, and would not take the risk of having a synod pass upon his constructions. It was also evident that the party which would lose out would not submit. No such general synod had ever been held. The idea also contradicted the principle established by the Peace of Augsburg that the rulers, *ex officio,* were to be the representatives of the territorial Church. Another way possible was that an understanding would be reached in private between the leaders of the two parties. This way was tried first in different ways.

1. By Duke Christopher and Elector Frederick

A diet was to be held in March, 1556, at Ratisbon. Lutheran harmony was desirable in order to have the "*Reservatum Ecclesiasticum*" expunged. It was probable that the Romanist party would demand either a council or a colloquy. Duke Christopher consulted with Elector Frederick of the Palatinate (the father-in-law of John Frederick, duke of Saxony), and in June, 1556, sent an embassy to Weimar to discuss political issues and propose an agreement with the electoral Saxons. The embassy consulted with Amsdorf, Stoltz, Erhard Schnepf and Victorin Strigel. The conditions laid down by these were as follows: A general confession is not sufficient, but the Zwinglians (this includes the Calvinists) were to be condemned by name; the Majoristic error must be con-

demned as corrupting the doctrine of justification; the new error of man's co-operation in conversion must be renounced. In regard to the adiaphoristic controversy they might demand that the opponents should publicly confess that they had erred, but they were willing to recede from such demand, if the promise was made that no concessions would be made in future to the Anti-Christ, but that he would be opposed in every way. The past injuries should be forgiven by the Saxons. The Augsburg Confession and the Smalcald Articles should henceforth be considered the common basis. A synod of theologians co-operating with the rulers might pass upon the past controversies.

The embassy from Wuertemberg saw in these conditions a demand for unconditional surrender of the Philippists. They knew well enough that this demand would be considered an open insult and that the Philippists would never think of entering upon any negotiations under these conditions. They therefore returned to Swabia without approaching the Wittenbergers. They were conscious that the well meant undertaking had utterly failed.

2. By Flacius Himself

Not all the friends of Flacius and Melanchthon were fanatical. Some deplored that these two great and gifted men, equipped by nature as leaders, did not agree. There were some who had confidence in Melanchthon as well as in Flacius, whose talents began to show themselves in planning the stupendous work afterwards completed, the Magdeburg Centuries. When, in May, 1556, the Frenchman, Hubert Languet,

who was a boarder and friend of Melanchthon, came to Magdeburg, the superintendent of the schools, Gottschalk Praetorius, took him to Flacius, and they discussed the question whether peace could possibly be restored in some way. There seems to have been the general impression that if these two men could have a heart-to-heart talk they would soon agree.[1] Praetorius wrote to Melanchthon, informing him under what conditions Flacius was ready to make peace. But Melanchthon did not reply.

Flacius himself then forwarded a set of formulated proposals to Paul Eber (son-in-law of Major), professor of philosophy at Wittenberg, *"Linde Vorschlaege"* (lenient propositions). These propositions are a platform of Flacianism (Preger II, 9-11):

1. A written statement, composed under the direction of both parties, is to be drawn up.

2. In regard to the controversy concerning the adiaphora we agree in the following points:

3. We recognize and confess that the pope is the true Anti-Christ, and we will denounce and condemn him as such.

4. We adhere unanimously to the Augsburg Confession as a certain, short synopsis of the difference between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrine.

5. We agree in condemning the Council of Trent and the Augsburg Interim, and whatever is in accordance with it and belongs to it.

6. We confess that no agreement in religion can be made with the Papists.

7. Though in the past an attempt had been made with good intentions to bring about a union in religion and ceremonies, yet we desire that in future no one of our side should

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[1] Which probably was not far from the truth.

undertake to make an agreement respecting doctrine or ceremonies contrary to the Augsburg Confession and the Smalcald Articles, unless they desist from persecuting, and accept and openly confess the pure doctrine of the gospel summed up in the Augsburg Confession.

8. We declare that it is not proper for the civil government to make any changes in good and tolerable ceremonies without the knowledge and consent of the churches; much less that they have the right to ameliorate or accommodate these according to the demands of the persecutors for the sake of temporal peace.

9. We condemn and reject unanimously the double-tongued and doubtful and offensive phrase: *"opera sunt necessaria ad salutem."* For howsoever interpreted, it remains a thorn in the hearts of the poor sinners, and can also be utilized by the Romanists against us.

10. We condemn the error of the Zwinglians concerning the eucharist, and of the Anabaptists, which is renewed and secretly introduced at present.

11. Wherever an error should creep in (as was the case with the error of Osiander and Schwenkfeld), we will oppose the same unanimously in our writings and sermons, in public and private from the very beginning.

12. Whenever, in public or private, persons holding harmful errors against religion and the welfare of conscience should arise and spread, we shall not recognize them as brethren, nor receive them into fellowship until they have condemned and revoked their error; for such wounds of the Church cannot be healed or tolerated in silence.

13. All intelligent, pious, earnest people must understand that it is necessary to act otherwise in matters of faith than in civil affairs, where amnesty is conceded, *i.e.*, errors are passed over in silence.

Flacius requested Paul Eber to propose any changes which might be desired. But he received not even an answer. In a pamphlet published soon afterwards by the "scholastics" of Wittenberg these endeavors look-

ing toward peace were ridiculed. A cartoon showed a donkey wearing a dirty crown, because he had scared away the Titans (fighting against the gods) by his braying.[1]

Some time later (July 12) Flacius again assured Languet that he was willing to meet Melanchthon personally for a discussion. But Melanchthon refused emphatically to meet him (July 15). The reason was this: The Duke of Mecklenburg had asked Chytraeus whether anything could be done to restore peace, and had received the reply: "As long as Flacius and Melanchthon are alive no unity will be restored." Gossip had reported this word to Melanchthon in the form: "In order to make peace Melanchthon should be removed." And Melanchthon really was afraid of assassination at the hands of Flacius! He wrote: "*Nemo meorum amicorum vult interesse colloquio, et judicant mihi non tutum solum cum eo colloqui.*" (No one of my friends is willing to attend a colloquy, and they are of the opinion that it is not safe for me to meet him alone for a colloquy.)

Flacius was sorely grieved at this behavior of Melanchthon against his well-meant advances. He considered it his duty to show to the public what interests he represented; hence he published a book (composed prior to these negotiations, but withheld until now), "*Von der Einigkeit*" (Of Unity). In this pamphlet he defends himself against the charges that his motive was ambition; he outlined his idea that peace could

[1] *I.e.*, Flacius had scared the Romanists by his attacks on the Interims.

be restored only as proposed in his *"Linde Vorschlaege."*

Mutual friends, however, did not yet despair. Fabricius of Meissen requested Flacius (August 24) to make another endeavor. This induced Flacius to address Melanchthon directly in a letter (September 1). And Melanchthon replied September 5 (C. R., VIII, 839-843) in a letter which is highly significant. He relates how he and his associates were driven by the politicians into the concessions made in the Leipzig Interim. He continues: *"Doctrinam confessionis nunquam mutavi. Ego etiam de ritibus his mediis minus pugnavi, quia jam antea in plerisque ecclesiis harum regionum retenti erant. Postea vos contradicere coepistis. Cessi; nihil pugnavi. Ajax apud Homerum proelians cum Hectore contentus est, cum cedit Hector, et fatetur, ipsum victorem esse. Vos finem nullum facitis criminandi. Quis hoc hostis facit, ut cedentes et arma abjicientis feriat? Vincite! Cedo; nihil pugno de ritibus illis, et maxime opto, ut dulcis sit ecclesiarum concordia. Fateor hac in re a me peccatum esse, et a Deo veniam peto, quod non procul fugi insidiosas illas deliberationes. Sed illa quae mihi falso a te et a Gallo objicitur, refutabo. Et haec de mediis ritibus jam tibi scribenda esse, duxi, quia in epistula tua de his praecipua pars est."*[1]

He then discusses the declaration of Major, and informs Flacius that he has induced Major not only to explain what he meant, but also to use it no more. He only insists that good works must be done, because

[1] See translation in Richard: "Melanchthon," page 367.

God demands them. He is sure that there is no difference between him and Flacius in this article. He is willing to negotiate with Flacius through others. He desires unity in confession, and requests that Flacius should not stir up more trouble by calumnies. He (Melanchthon) had not known about the cartoons and scurrilous poems against Flacius. He defended himself for having written the *Confessio Repetita,* in which he points out some great improvements over the Augsburg Confession.

Melanchthon may have supposed that Flacius would now cease his attacks, after he had so unreservedly admitted his part in the Interim as wrong. Flacius was not to be pacified by such a private admission, but replied: "It may have been sufficient for Ajax, who fought for his own glory and that of others that his proud opponent gave way before him in the presence of both armies. But for me, who do not seek glory or triumph, but only the continuation of truth and the destruction of error—for me and my conscience the retreat is not sufficient, couched and hidden in a few words, when at the same time the threat is added of new writings, and it does not remove an error, which has been defended violently." But Flacius is willing to submit the matter to arbiters. An agreement on the basis of explicit articles would, however, be preferable. No one demands that Melanchthon should condemn himself or confess that he had erred. But a joint statement of the truth would suffice. If the previous proposition did not satisfy Melanchthon, he might propose more suitable ones.

There is very little doubt that Melanchthon and

Flacius might have agreed, and would have agreed, if they had been the only parties. They were on the very best way towards an agreement. But on the side of Melanchthon his very friends were his greatest enemies. In this case the words came true: "God save me from my friends; I will take care of my enemies." These friends now again became active, and roused suspicions against Flacius. One of these who slandered Flacius most maliciously was Languet, who spread reports concerning the church history of Flacius and alleged depredations by Flacius. Hence Melanchthon received this epistle of Flacius, but did not send any answer. So the well-meant endeavors of Flacius looking towards peace came to naught.

3. The Lower Saxon Mediation at Coswig

The advances made by Flacius had been in vain. At the time of this failure Flacius corresponded with the leaders of the Lutheran Church in Lower Saxony concerning a joint declaration against Schwenkfeld. He now asked them to mediate between himself and Melanchthon. He submitted to them propositions almost identical with his "*Linde Vorschlaege.*" The Saxons accepted the offer, and laid it before their city governments and were authorized and instructed to visit both parties in person and bring about an agreement. From each of the four cities (Hamburg, Luebeck, Lueneberg and Braunschweig) the superintendent and a minister were delegated. These mediators were such prominent men as Moerlin and Martin Chemnitz, from Braunschweig; Henning and Wippermann, from Lueneberg; Curtius and Schumann, from Lue-

beck; von Eitzen and Westphal, from Hamburg. They met January 14, 1557, at Braunschweig, and discussed the matter. They drew up a series of propositions on the basis of those from Flacius. Traveling via Magdeburg, they discussed the matter informally with Flacius. They requested him to go to Coswig, so that they might easily reach him to report the replies of Melanchthon. In regard to the differences, they no doubt stood on the side of Flacius.

They hurried to Wittenberg, lest rumors of their coming should precede them and spoil everything. About three o'clock Moerlin and Chemnitz called on Melanchthon, who received these old friends most cordially and arranged a formal meeting for the next morning at six o'clock. At that meeting the mediators presented their credentials, and (Moerlin acting as spokesman) reviewed the lamentable disharmony between such prominent men as Melanchthon and Flacius. They offered their good services as mediators between the two sides. Melanchthon thanked them for these good services, and declared his willingness to submit his case to the judgment of the Church. But he could not miss the chance of denouncing Flacius. He had kept silent, he said, for the sake of peace, but Flacius and Gallus had insulted him, and had aroused the common people and princes against him. He refused to receive the propositions of Flacius, since they contained falsehoods and unnecessary material; but if they would compose any, he would receive them. He suggested as the best solution that statements covering the whole of the Lutheran doctrine should be compiled, lest Flacius

start controversies about new articles. He also put his reply into writing. This ended this session.

The next day the delegation presented eight articles which they had drawn up, since Melanchthon refused to entertain those of Flacius:

1. The basis of the agreement shall be, the Augsburg Confession, Apology and Smalcald Articles.
2. All errors of the Papists, Interimists, Anabaptists and Sacramentarians are to be rejected.
3. In regard to the doctrine of justification all corruptions should be removed, especially the corruption concerning the necessity of good works unto salvation.
4. The Saxons uphold their confession in the Interimistic controversy.
5. No agreement is to be made with the Papists, unless an agreement has first been reached in regard to pure doctrine.
6. In persecutions a public and sincere confession must be rendered, and no servitude is permitted which is contrary to Christian liberty.
7. We request the honored Preceptor to declare his opinion in regard to the adiaphora and the necessity of good works and that he agrees with the confession of the Church. Such statement is to be printed.
8. In case he suspects errors on the other side (Flacius), a statement should be elicited.

When these propositions were presented Melanchthon received them most ungraciously. He became so greatly excited that the delegates feared for the health of the old man. He scolded them as if they had conspired with Flacius in order to ensnare him by craft. The delegates had to call in Paul Eber, who finally succeeded in calming him. He promised that he would answer the proposal in writing, which he did the next

day (January 22). He declared that for thirty years he had done his work faithfully, and now they had come to crucify him. They had laid before him not a summary of all doctrines, but merely of the points of controversy by which they tried to force him and others to cut their own throats. They spared Flacius, and permitted him to attack Melanchthon without mercy. In regard to the articles, he was willing to accept Nos. 1 and 2 (suggesting the addition of Servetus, Thammer, Antinomians, Schwenkfeld and Osiander). In No. 3 he objected to the first statement, as if it implied that he and his associates had corrupted the article of justification; but he agreed to reject the proposition of Major. For the sake of peace he was willing to accept Nos. 4, 5 and 6, even if he thereby hit himself. But he refused to publish any statement as demanded in No. 7. What he had taught concerning these two points could be easily seen from his many writings.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Flacian party assembled at Coswig; they were afraid that the mediators might deal too mildly with Melanchthon. Their anxiety increased as the days passed without any report from Wittenberg. On Saturday, January 23, Moerlin, Henning and Westphal came to Coswig to report concerning the mediation—rather concerning their failure. Moerlin requested them to disregard the harsh words into which Melanchthon had clothed his reply, and to show on their side a truly Christian spirit. He reported that since their presence and intentions had become known at Wittenberg, public opinion had been at fever heat; some students had even threatened to

stone them. The Flacianists consulted, and met them again on Sunday afternoon. Wigand was their speaker. He said that they were surprised that Melanchthon was so stubborn and would not concede the least error, when he had so frankly confessed his sin in his letter to Flacius. For this reason they considered it necessary to admonish the erring ones so much more emphatically. "The dogs must bark, so that the ox, quietly recumbent and asleep, must finally awake." He handed two sealed letters for transmissal to Melanchthon, of which one specified the errors in the article of justification, and the other their reasons why they were not satisfied with the eight propositions of the mediators; they desired to make them more specific. Besides they handed over a list of adiaphoristic corruptions and a selection of offensive quotations from Major's homilies. Flacius was even more severe; he saw that the opponents refused to confess their sins and hardened themselves in these sins. Therefore he must insist upon a written declaration to be signed by both parties and published by them in which the Leipzig Interim should be named as false. The correct position should be explained and emphasized. Furthermore, the Wittenberg theologians must be admonished to repent and to avoid such great sins in future.

In Wittenberg matters had become worse. A certain John Curio preached for Bugenhagen. He spoke of "Illyricus, the cheater and rascal" (*Schalk und Bube*), and had even attacked the mediators by name from the pulpit. This was done in the presence of Melanchthon. A pasquille—probably composed by

Paul Eber—was circulated, in which a good deal of mud-slinging was applied against Flacius and his emissaries. Major was violent, and tried his utmost to bring these endeavors of peace to naught: Melanchthon was not the representative of Wittenberg; this matter should be taken from his hands and turned over to the theological faculty.

Under these conditions the whole delegation (except Chemnitz) returned to Coswig on January 25, in order to induce the Flacianists to modify their demands. If not, they would go home. Finally the Magdeburg party gave in with ill concealed chagrin, as the only point refused by Melanchthon was a public statement. Negotiations with Melanchthon were continued. He answered, January 27: "You know that these thirty years there was a great confusion of opinions and that it was difficult to find the correct thing in each case. And many hypocrites were and are opposed to me for this reason. I was also ensnared in crafty schemes of politicians. In case that I did err in any matters or have been too lenient in any affair, I pray to God to forgive me, and I will take my sentence from the Church. I likewise desire nothing more in this life than that the whole of the Christian doctrine should be discussed by pious and learned men in mildness and without passion, so that the doctrine of the Church may be transmitted in a developed form to posterity without ambiguity." But since the demands of Flacius concerned also others besides him he could not act or do anything.

In this way he refused to continue any further efforts. Peucer, the son-in-law of Melanchthon, in an

insulting way, requested the delegates to let the old man alone. And what was the result of the well-meant endeavor to mediate which had been provoked by Melanchthon's own declaration that the matter might be settled most easily in this way? Both sides now were embittered. There can be no doubt that the friends and associates of the Preceptor (the coming Philippist party), by suspicions and underhanded methods prevented an adjustment of the differences, though the Magdeburg party is not without guilt by prescribing what amounted to a public confession of having erred. They might have left such a declaration and the form to the conscience of Melanchthon.

4. *John Albert of Mecklenburg*

Flacius had appealed not only to the Lower Saxons, but also to the Duke of Mecklenburg. The duke had admonished both sides, Melanchthon as well as Flacius, to end their controversy and to come to an agreement. Both had replied that they were willing for their part. Melanchthon even suggested that the duke should formulate a platform for such agreement. This the duke had done while the Coswig negotiations were under way. His counsellors and theologians had composed propositions for this purpose.

Four weeks after the failure of the Lower Saxons, George Venetus (professor at Rostock) and the councilor, Andreas Mylius, laid these propositions before Melanchthon. He became as violent as he had been the other time, and absolutely refused to enter into any consultation on the matter. He stated that they simply requested him to strangle himself. These prop-

ositions are reprinted in C. R., IX, 91ff. They are much more severe than either the propositions of Flacius or those of the Coswig mediators.

Flacius at that time stated: "As long as Melanchthon is under the influence of his Wittenberg friends, there is no hope." And this was true. For when the former papal legate, Paolo Vergerio (now a Lutheran), a little later tried to discuss the question of adiaphora with him, he cut short with the reply: "Let us drop this matter and talk of something else."

15. THE ENDEAVORS OF THE PRINCES TO UNITE ALL PARTIES

THE COLLOQUY AT WORMS. The Peace of Augsburg had stipulated that both religions (the Lutheran and the Roman) should be equally recognized within the empire unless a union were reached at a diet, colloquy or a council. Ferdinand did not yet abandon all hopes. Hence a colloquy was held at Worms by twelve theologians from each side from August 24 to October 1, 1557. But here the Romans (especially the Jesuit Canisius) demanded to know whether Osiander, Major, Flacius and others were to be considered adherents of the Augsburg Confession. By this scheme they divided the ranks of the Lutherans. The Gnesio-Lutheran minority demanded an immediate agreement and a plain rejection of the recent errors; the majority desired to present an unbroken front to the Romans and to settle these differences (as they now conceded) at a synod to be held in the near future. The four Flacianists then handed a statement of their position to the Romanist chairman (Pflug), and withdrew from further consultation. The Romanists refused to continue the colloquy with the majority, since these no longer represented the whole Lutheran Church. The division of the Lutherans in these official negotiations published the fact that there were great differences to the whole world. The Romanists did their very best to exaggerate this fact and to make it

universally known. This induced the Lutheran princes to try their hand in healing the breach. They did so through two assemblies, the Frankfurt Recess (1558) and the Naumburg assembly of princes (1561).

1. The Frankfurt Recess

In March, 1558, at the formal proclamation of Ferdinand, as German emperor, six Lutheran princes[1] discussed the lamentable confusion among the theologians. Two "opinions" were presented—one by Brenz[2] and one by Melanchthon.[3] An agreement based upon the memorial of the Preceptor was composed. It is known as the Frankfurt Recess.

THE FRANKFURT RECESS

The princes, considering the lamentable disharmony, declare that they adhere to the Augsburg Confession. Since the recent colloquy of Worms the Romanists have spread the report that all kinds of heresies are disseminated among the Lutherans. Hence the princes desire to publish a statement concerning these rumors, not as a new symbol, but as a declaration concerning these controversies.

1. Concerning Justification. Faith trusts in the mercy of God promised for the sake of Christ. Through this faith man is justified before God, *i.e.,* is considered just, has forgiveness and Christ's righteousness is considered as his. After this God makes His habitation in man and good works follow. But the righteousness of their works is only incipient and connected with much weakness within us. Therefore we

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[1] The three electors: Ottheinrich of the Palatinate, August of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg, and Duke Christoph of Wuertemberg, Wolfgang of Zweibruecken and Philip of Hessia.

[2] C. R., IX, page 365ff.

[3] C. R., IX, page 365.

place the righteousness only in faith and in no way in the newness of life.

2. Concerning Good Works. New obedience is necessary, but this must be understood correctly (*Necessitas debiti*). Man must do what God commands, because God demands such works. "Necessary" is not compulsory. "Good works" does not mean merely the external acts, but the new light, intention underlying such works (*Necessitas causae et effectus*). These works are the necessary effect of the Holy Spirit received in conversion. Hence many good works follow after conversion. Paul himself used the expression, therefore it must not be condemned. But we must not trust in them. The phrase, "Good works are necessary unto salvation," should not be used, as it might be construed as if they were a merit, and would thus conflict with the doctrine of justification.

3. Concerning the Eucharist. Nothing can be a sacrament without divine institution. Hence the idolatrous practice connected with the mass (adoration, carrying around the bread, etc.) must be condemned. We teach, as declared in the Augsburg Confession: In this institution Christ is truly, livingly, essentially present with the bread and wine; we Christians receive them to testify that we are His members. Hence there are two gifts—the celestial and the terrestrial. With the latter, body and blood are given. The participation is for the purpose of applying the Son of God and His promise. We reject the doctrine that the sacrament is merely an external symbol and confession of Christians.

4. Concerning the Adiaphora. Wherever the pure doctrine is held, these may be retained. Where the pure doctrine is not held or is persecuted, not only these but all ceremonies are detrimental. Among the Lutheran estates none shall attack the other on account of different customs.

It was furthermore agreed that any future controversies should be discussed in Christian and fraternal love and meekness. No deviation from the confessions and this declaration was to be tolerated by any

ruler, and the consistories were to instruct all pastors to act according to these resolutions. In order to prevent any continuation of the past controversies or the outbreak of new ones, it was stipulated that no theological or controversial books should be published uncensored. Heterodox teachers should be deposed, and such disciplinary acts should be recognized by each and every prince and estate.

In order to make these resolutions adopted by the few rulers present effective, all other princes and estates were asked to become parties of this agreement. Above all, arrangements were made to induce John Frederick of ducal Saxony to accept these measures. But the Frankfurt Recess only raised a storm of indignation. The doctrinal statement was considered to be too indefinite considering the condition of affairs. The instruction referring to strict censorship was considered an insult and was violently denounced. The supervision of the ministers was declared likewise to be an insinuation, as if they were to be dictated to as to what they should preach. John Frederick most emphatically refused to sign the Recess. He even tried to bring about a counter move by requesting all opponents to meet at Magdeburg and formulate a specific condemnation of all recent "sects." The Flacianists at once attacked the Frankfurt Recess, and Melanchthon had to write a reply to their pamphlets. John Frederick (since the plan to hold a meeting at Magdeburg was not accepted by others) went to work and composed the *"Weimar Konfutationsbuch"* (1558 and 1559), in which all recent heresies, and, above all, those of the Philippists, were enumerated and con-

demned. All professors and pastors in his country were asked to approve it. The pupils of Melanchthon, on the other hand, issued their confession of faith, the first "*Corpus Doctrinæ*" composed entirely of Melanchthonian writings (1559).

The princes had meant well. But their first trial in settling the controversies by means of ambiguous phraseology was a total failure. Matters became only worse and the lines were drawn even more strictly. Both sides now became more bitter in their literary issues and their pulpit eloquence.

2. The Naumburg Assembly of Princes.

The Worms colloquy had published the disharmony of the Lutherans among themselves to the whole world. The Frankfurt Recess had endeavored to heal the breach; the great majority of Lutheran princes had signed it, but a strong (though small) minority had emphatically rejected it. This shows that not only theologians but also princes were grouped on both sides. The extremists of the opponents of the Recess, the Flacianists in the dukedom of Saxony, had issued the Weimar Confutation as their manifesto over against the Philippistic "*Corpus Doctrinæ.*"

How could this scandalous division within one and the same Church be brought to an end? Many, most emphatically the Flacianists, demanded a "general council" of the Lutheran Church—a "Pan-Lutheran Convention," according to modern ideas. At such a synod the different parties should be heard, and their differences should be settled according to the old Lutheran standards. Or, at the very least, repre-

sentatives of all Lutheran countries should meet for this purpose. But no one was more opposed to such a convention than Melanchthon, as may be well understood by those who know his characteristics. Neither would Elector August listen to such a proposition. Even Brenz was afraid of such a synod, since the experience of the past proved that after all such conferences bitterness had increased. But something should be done. Therefore Christian of Wuertemberg suggested (March, 1559) a new assembly[1] of all Lutheran estates, not only a few, as at Frankfurt. August at first declined to assist in calling such a synod of estates. But Christoph succeeded in winning as well the Flacian leader, John Frederick, as also his father-in-law, the leader of the Crypto-Calvinists, Frederick of Palatia. Then also August lent a helping hand.

The plan was laid to settle the matter without the theologians. In the invitations to all larger Lutheran communities (August, 1560) it was proposed to consult about a new subscription to the Augsburg Confession of 1530. No condemnations should be considered, and no political questions were to be discussed and passed.

An exceedingly large number of princes was present, either in person or by proxy (their lawyers). Twenty-one sessions were held between January 23 and February 8, 1561. The following order of business was adopted: 1. All editions of the Augsburg Confession were to be compared, in order to find what

[1] Richard and Schmauk call it a "diet," but it merely was an assembly of Lutherans.

differences really existed in these and to decide which edition should be signed. 2. A preface was to be composed explaining the reason for doing so. 3. Information should be sent to the emperor as to the meaning of this convention (lest he should suspect political intrigues). 4. Consultation as to whether the absent estates should sign and in what manner.

At the first point a divergence showed itself: Frederick of Palatia, who was the great speaker at this assembly, proposed that the edition of the Augsburg Confession printed in 1540 should be signed, since it was the latest revision of the author, and hence the best. This motion was seconded by August (notwithstanding the fact that he had invited others to this meeting in order to sign the edition of 1531). John Frederick Wolfgang of Zweibruecken and Ulrich of Mecklenburg proposed that also the Smalcald Articles should be signed as Luther's interpretation of the Augsburg Confession. Both motions were postponed and the question was taken up: What is the difference between the different editions? John Frederick had brought a manuscript copy from his archives; it was a copy made by Spalatin from the manuscript original of the Augsburg Confession (but not in its very latest form) as publicly delivered to the emperor. Christoph had a manuscript written by Brenz. Besides this, there were presented printed editions of 1531, 1540 and 1542. The princes now undertook the very tedious work of "lower criticism"—that is, they compared and noted all differences which were to be found in these different documents in order to establish the authentic text. It took them two long days! Most

princes absented themselves, and delegated this mechanical work to their officials, who accompanied them.

The collation of the various documents proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the printed edition of 1531 agreed not in every respect with the manuscript copies, but better than any of the others considered. And hence the prevailing opinion was: "Let us subscribe to the edition of 1531 as coming nearest to the text read to the emperor." But to this Frederick of the Palatinate objected most strenuously, as he found some phrases in this edition which he could not well adopt. On the other hand, all the various additions which had been made by Melanchthon in the later editions made the matter so much clearer. Five questions were now proposed for discussion:

1. Shall the printed edition of 1531, of 1540 or of 1542 be recognized as the authorized and standard text of the Augsburg Confession?

2. Does the German text of 1531 in the phrase *"unter der Gestalt von Brot und Wein"* approve the doctrine of transubstantiation?

3. Does the declaration in the Latin text of this edition in the Apology, *"quia divisio sacramenti non convenit cum institutioni Christi,"* permit a procession in which both elements are carried about?

4. Since Frederick had abolished the old ceremonies (still retained by others), could he possibly sign Article 21 with the phrase *"retinetur enim missa apud nos"?*

5. Should the preface to be composed not rather refer to the Augustana *Confessio Repetita* of 1552 than to the Smalcald Articles? And should not, per-

haps, the articles concerning the Lord's Supper, procession and mass be briefly explained in this preface?

Frederick pleaded most energetically for the edition of 1540. But the invitations which August had sent out stated as the object that the edition of 1531 should be signed, and most representatives had been so instructed. John Frederick, on the other hand, proposed that the manuscript copy should be adopted as the authorized text. As a compromise August proposed that the edition of 1531 should be adopted, but the edition of 1540 should be recognized as an interpretation. The princes finally decided thus: the printed edition of 1531 is to be signed, but in the preface only the Apology (and not the Smalcald Articles) and the edition of 1540 should be mentioned. The task to propose a draft for such a preface was assigned to the Crypto-Calvinist, Elector Frederick of the Palatinate and the Elector August (for whom the Crypto-Calvinist Councilor Cracow, did the clerical work). No wonder that it showed the spirit of the authors.

The preface was then composed. And the spirit was the "Philippist" or Crypto-Calvinistic spirit.[1] It

[1] It must not be forgotten that Frederick at this time had not only dismissed Heshusius (see Eucharist controversy), and tried to get the Reformed theologians, Peter Martyr from Zuerich and Wolfgang Musculus from Berne; both had declined on account of their age. Then he called Casper Olevianus, who had studied at Zuerich and Geneva, and a little later he called Ursinus and Tremellius, both recommended by Peter Martyr. He had retained the Crypto-Calvinists, Diller, Boquin and Dathenus, at the university. If he had not yet formally gone

was stated that of late the Lutherans had been charged with no longer retaining the original Augsburg Confession of 1530, and that they were no longer one in doctrine. But they tolerated no other doctrine than that of the original confession. For this reason they had once more examined and signed the printed edition of 1531. The edition of 1540 (used also in some countries and handed to the Romanists at the colloquy of Worms) is a more detailed form and interpretation of the original one. They also approved the Apology and other declarations which were to be understood according to the Augsburg Confession. The interpretation given to some phrases, as if they approved of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, is to be rejected. On the other hand (this was added by the princes afterwards), they also now confessed the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. Hence they present this subscribed and sealed Augsburg Confession to the emperor with the intention of thereby refuting the calumny that they are not of one mind.

When this preface was presented, John Frederick and Ulrich of Mecklenburg were not satisfied, and demanded time for consideration. They finally rejected the preface, because the sacramentarian errors had not been enumerated and condemned. They also claimed that the statement concerning agreement among the Lutherans was not true. The recent errors

over to the Calvinists, he had already made the first steps leading there. And still he was the "great speaker" at this convention of Lutheran princes! This was characteristic of the time, and for this faction within the Lutheran Church.

should have been disapproved. After a series of consultations (with clashes between father-in-law and son-in-law) the two princes left Naumburg. Others followed their example. The theologians, assembled in Lower Saxony to settle the Hardenberg matter, disapproved of the Naumburg preface. Further endeavor to appease John Frederick were in vain.

The practical result of the endeavors of the rulers was that the breach between the two parties within the Lutheran Church only became wider. Frederick of the Palatinate soon openly went over to the Calvinist side and made the churches of his territory Reformed; he expelled all consistent Lutherans. No unification was in sight. The Romanists triumphed when they heard of this. For they hoped for an easy victory over a house divided in itself.

16. THE ENDEAVORS OF ANDREAE TO UNITE ALL PARTIES

1. Andreae's Theses of 1569

There was no one among the Lutheran princes who tried so often and so eagerly to bring about a settlement of these controversies as the Duke of Wuertemberg, Christoph (1568). From his land came the man who hoped against hope and finally succeeded in saving the Lutheran Church from dismemberment—long after the death of his patron prince. This man, whose name has been besmirched for this very reason by almost all the opponents of the Formula of Concord, is Jakob Andreae.

Jakob Andreae did not begin his work at his own pleasure. Duke Christoph (1569) gave him a leave of

absence at the request of Julius of Braunschweig for the double purpose (1) of organizing the Lutheran Church of his possessions and (2) of bringing about an agreement between the churches. In Braunschweig Duke Henry, the last rank enemy of Lutheranism from the former generation, had passed away. His territory came to his last surviving son, the Lutheran Julius. The two theologians, Chemnitz, superintendent of the free city of Braunschweig, and Andreae, compiled a *"Kirchenordnung"* (book of statutes or church regulations) after they had visited the various churches and introduced the new doctrine. This *"Kirchenordnung"* (as was the case with so many similar documents of that time) contains also a doctrinal part concerning the "form and type of the pure doctrine." The gospel is to be taught in all churches in accordance with the three ancient symbols, and the Augsburg Confession, its Apology, the Smalcald Articles and the Catechisms of Luther. Chemnitz also wrote a "short, simple and necessary review", concerning the corruptions of the pure doctrine, which was made a part of the *Kirchenordnung*.[1]

After Andreae had finished this work of organizing in 1569, he returned *via* Wittenberg. He left a series of propositions with George Major, since the other professors were at the Altenburg colloquy. His idea was to mediate between Wittenberg and Jena. Any agreement between these two parties must be satis-

[1] This quite lengthy review of the controversies in its relation to the text of the Formula of Concord has not yet been studied sufficiently. Balthasar has done so, but his method is not practical.

factory to those between the two extremes. He also sent the same propositions to various other prominent theologians and requested that they should approve them. In this way they hoped to unite the different factions. The propositions dealt with: 1. Justification; 2. Good Works; 3. Free Will; 4. Adiaphora; 5. The Eucharist.[1]

But when Andreae visited Lower Saxony again he found that the Altenburg colloquy, held between the two extreme parties, had increased the prevalent feeling against the Wittenberg theologians. He could not even induce the theologians to subscribe to his propositions merely as a preparation for a discussion. The Rostock faculty composed propositions on the same topics, which, of course, were much more anti-Philippistic. In middle and southern Germany he collected many signatures; but as long as neither Jena nor Wittenberg signed them, this move proved a total failure. The Jena theologians did not wait until he came to them, but announced that they would in no way countenance him. They even attacked and ridiculed him openly. And the Wittenberg theologians, both publicly and privately, assured him that they would accept only articles based upon their *Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum.* This was surely no good beginning.

Considering that there was a great longing for peace, how is this opposition to be explained? The most satisfactory answer is: The Lower Saxons were absolutely sure that even if the Wittenberg theologians signed propositions which were as indefinite as those

[1] Planck, VI, page 381.

of Andreae, they would interpret them in their own interest. Hence an agreement would not amount to more than "a mere scrap of paper." They placed just as much value upon such a declaration as upon the hypocritical declarations by which these theologians appeased (and deceived) Elector August. They now even suspected Andreae of insincerity.

Andreae apparently had not yet grasped the real issue and situation. He had too good an opinion of the theologians of Saxony, and thought the greater part of the controversies was mere wrangling over words. He probably over-estimated the political bitterness. This is evident also from his next move.

2. The Convention of Zerbst

Andreae did not yet despair, but made another effort in 1570. His propositions were not much milder than the declarations of the Formula of Concord; yet they had prejudiced many. He knew that it was very difficult to compose articles that would satisfy both parties. He now selected another way: If all who acknowledged the confessions adopted by Braunschweig, then there might be peace. And who would refuse to recognize them as Lutheran? The Landgrave of Hessia and Duke Julius gave him letters of recommendation to the Elector of Saxony. Andreae requested him to send his theologians to Zerbst to meet the Lower Saxon representatives. The theologians of Wittenberg and Leipzig could not but attend, since the elector ordered them to be present. Also the Lower Saxons could not well absent themselves.

At the Zerbst convention (May 7, 1570) everything

opened auspiciously. After a discussion of the proposals the following statement was made:

No new explanations or declarations are to be made, since such declarations, made on other occasions, had been ridiculed as new confessions, and were made the basis of the accusation that the Lutherans needed a new confession every day. For this reason they would now render this honor to their beloved fathers and preceptors that they adhered only to the older, well-founded and thorough confessions and their interpretations.

They therefore unanimously recognize the Augsburg Confession, with its Apology, the Smalcald Articles and the Catechisms of Master Luther as the certain and infallible rule by which not only the past controversies, but also all future ones should be decided.

For exclusively according to these four normal standard books, not only all other books of Luther and also all books of Master Philip should be interpreted and understood, but they desired that also in their own books whatsoever was obscure or doubtful should be interpreted, and nothing could by anyone be interpreted or assumed to have any other meaning. But everything that is in conflict with these four books would be rejected and condemned.

A resolution was also passed requesting the princes to stop their ministers and theologians from public attacks. Besides, the princes were petitioned to suspend any that were under suspicion from their office. No other state should receive such until they had cleared themselves.

Everything seemed well done. Then when the propositions, by which these four books were recognized as the only symbolical books, were to be signed, the Wittenberg theologians subscribed with the proviso that they interpreted these books according to their confessional book—the *Corpus Misnicum*. And this

declaration again made their confession a "mere scrap of paper."

The resolutions of Zerbst had been adopted merely tentatively. They should be reported to all churches and should be of binding force after adoption. The Jena theologians—who had not taken part—at once ridiculed Andreae for his glorious attainments. And now the evil opinion of Andreae in Lower Saxony was strengthened. He was made the by-word for superficial and unionistic disregard of differences. The responsibility for the duplicity of the Saxons was shouldered upon him, as if he had arranged this scheme beforehand with them. The subscription of the Saxons was declared to be a fraud. And the further developments—the Wittenberg Catechism of 1570 and the *Grundfeste* of 1571—clearly demonstrated that this was correct. Of course no one could now think of pressing these Zerbst propositions; yea, no one dared to speak of union.

Andreae so far had still entertained a better opinion of the Philippists. They, no doubt, had succeeded in deceiving him for a time, but he was now undeceived, and saw their duplicity. He had to suffer most for their deception. He now abandoned them entirely and openly came out against them. The books which were published by the Philippists within a year after the Zerbst convention induced the Lower Saxons, under the leadership of Chemnitz, to adopt a common declaration in which the Philippists were branded without qualification as traitors. Their Crypto-Calvinism was now recognized by all Lutherans outside of Saxony, and by a good many in Saxony. Only

Elector August, in his spite against the Flacianists, saw in them the innocent martyrs. And whenever the assertions and warnings from outside reached him and aroused his suspicions they succeeded in deceiving him once more. But their measure of iniquity was full and needed just one more drop to overflow. They very soon betrayed themselves. (For particulars of the Crypto-Calvinistic intrigues see the historical introduction of Article 10.)

17. THE ENDEAVORS OF ANDREAE TO UNITE ALL LUTHERANS

1. Andreae's Six Sermons and the Swabian Concordia

Andreae returned to Wuertemberg a wiser man. There was plenty of work in store for him under the new duke. He had learned a lesson: "*Trau, schau, wem?*" If he had sinned, he had sinned by putting too charitable a construction on the doubtful words of the successors of Melanchthon. He now saw that the only feasible plan would be (as suggested by Marbach) to unite all those that were not radical partisans and yet were Lutherans. And of such he had found ever so many in all parts of Germany, especially in Lower Saxony. But on account of the bitter feeling against him, as if he had concocted a scheme to leave a loophole for the Crypto-Calvinists, he saw that he must wait for more favorable conditions.

He patiently waited, meanwhile keeping his eyes open. His chance came before the crisis in Saxony. Selneccer, now in Braunschweig, had published his "*Institutio religionis Christianae*" in the fall of 1572,

and had dedicated it to Louis of Wuertemberg.[1] In the preface he thanked the duke for the service which Andreae had rendered to Braunschweig a few years previously; he expressed his joy over the fact that the two countries were one in faith and doctrine. This open declaration of unity in faith was a welcome occasion for Andreae to return the compliment by dedicating a work which was just going to press to the Duke of Braunschweig. This work was, "Six Sermons on the Controversies Within the Lutheran Church from 1548 to 1572."[2] He arranged these in this order: 1. Justification. 2. Good Works. 3. Original Sin. 4. Adiaphora. 5. Law and Gospel. 6. The Person of Christ. He also asserted that the churches of Swabia (Wuertemberg) and those of Braunschweig and elsewhere, agreed in the confession of the pure doctrine over against Crypto-Calvinism. In forwarding copies of these sermons to Duke Julius of Braunschweig and Chemnitz, he enclosed a suggestion of the faculty of Tuebingen and the consistory at Stuttgart to the effect that these sermons might form a bond of

[1] As a rule, books were dedicated at that time to prominent persons; if they were able, they acknowledged the honor received by enclosing an amount in cash.

[2] He had preached a series of thirty-three sermons at Esslingen in 1567 on the various errors of the Papists, Zwinglians, Schwenkfeldians and Anabaptists. These had been printed. A new edition had been made necessary. In the preface to this new edition Andreae reported his endeavors to bring about peace and his failures. He now added a fifth part in the form of sermons on the divisions within the Lutheran Church. He does not state that he actually delivered this series of six sermons.

fellowship between the Lutherans in the north and the south. He also sent copies to Chytraeus, Westphal, Wigand and others requesting them to acknowledge the unity of views.

Duke Julius as well as Chemnitz answered that they fully approved the statements of Andreae as correct; but they suggested that the idea of Andreae could be realized only if the matter was brought into the form of propositions. Chemnitz suggested that (considering the prejudice in Lower Saxony against the author) it might be prudent if the statement were issued by other theologians of Swabia, or, best of all, by the faculty of Tuebingen. Andreae at once began this work himself and soon finished it. But he laid it before the Tuebingen faculty and then sent the articles to Julius and Chemnitz on March 22, 1574. This was about the time when the storm broke in Saxony; but Andreae knew nothing of the change taking place. In composing the article he utilizes (as suggested by Chemnitz) the similar articles of Chemnitz in the Braunschweig *Corpus*. The document sent by Andreae is known as the *"Tuebinger Buch"* or *"Schwaebische Concordie."*[1] These articles are short and to the point. Andreae here had rearranged the

[1] These articles were sought in vain by Heppe. He found at Wolfenbuettel a form which he erroneously considered the articles of Andreae. He published them as such in his *"Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren, 1555-1581,"* Vol. III, page 75-, 66 (1857). Nine years later Hachfeld found not the original, but a copy, and published the same in *"Niedner's Zeitschrift fuer historische Theologie, 1866,"* pages 234ff.

articles and had added an article on predestination. He presented the following articles: 1. Original Sin. 2. Free Will. 3. Justification. 4. Good Works. 5. Law and the Gospel. 6. The Third Use of the Law. 7. Adiaphora. 8. The Lord's Supper. 9. The Person of Christ. 10. Eternal Predestination. 11. Other Sects.[1]

2. The Revision of Andreae's Articles by Chemnitz

Chemnitz did not reply at once to the request of Andreae; hence Andreae and the faculty wrote again. They requested Chemnitz to use his influence in Lower Saxony so that these articles would be ratified. We have no record whether Chemnitz laid the original draft by Andreae before the Lutherans of Lower Saxony or whether he made use of the permission given to him by Andreae of improving the articles. The latter may be assumed. Duke Julius officially instructed Chemnitz to negotiate with the various district churches in order to bring about unification. He also furnished the necessary funds. In this way Chemnitz came to the allied cities as the ambassador and plenipotentiary of Julius. A conference of the

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[1] Though these articles were published in 1866, they were entirely overlooked until about fifteen years ago. The Calwer history of the Church first mentioned them. Since then they have frequently been referred to. But it seems as if no one examined them carefully and collated them with the two forms presented by Heppe. Elsewhere we point out which parts were received into the Formula of Concord. (See the individual articles.)

theologians of Hamburg, Luebeck and Lueneburg was arranged (July 3, 1574) at Luebeck to consider this matter. A second one was held in October at Bergendorf. Various changes were recommended and Chemnitz embodied them in the document. It was agreed that the ministers should consider the draft still more carefully at home. They should forward any recommendations to the faculty of Rostock, which should then revise the whole and report it back to the various cities.

Heppe presents two forms; both were found at Wolfenbuettel.[1] The shorter one probably presents the form in which Chemnitz laid it before the other cities, or, possibly the form in which it was sent to Rostock. A comparison with the *"Schwaebische Concordie"* shows that it is a very considerate and careful revision. In revising the draft of Andreae, Chemnitz very wisely utilized many of the official declarations adopted by the Lower Saxons in the controversies. The longer form published by Heppe is the Swabian-Saxon Formula as returned to Tuebingen.[2]

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[1] Heppe erroneously considered the shorter form as the Swabian Concordia.

[2] Pfaff also published the Swabian-Saxon Formula in his *"Acta et Scripta Wuertembergica."* His edition is full of errors. Even the order of the articles is not correct. Pfaff's edition arranges them thus: 1. Original Sin. 2. Person of Christ. 3. Justification. 4. Good Works. 5. Law and Gospel. 6. Third Use of the Law. 7. Lord's Supper. 8. Predestination. 9. Adiaphora. 10. Free Will. 11. Other Sects. But the section Mueller, page 724, Nos. 94-96 (which are the conclusion of all articles) in Pfaff do not occur after the article on Free Will, but after the article on Predestination (No. 8).

3. The Swabian-Saxon Formula

The faculty at Rostock was highly respected as the representative of theological learning in Lower Saxony. It had taken the lead in the controversies of the past years. It stood for sound Lutheranism over against wavering Philippism. The leading theologian was Chytraeus, who had studied under Melanchthon, but, like Chemnitz and many other pupils of the Preceptor, did not share his teacher's half-heartedness. Chytraeus acted as the amanuensis of the faculty. He made many changes in the articles laid before him. He preferred to rewrite two articles, the second and seventh. The traces of the style of Chytraeus can be easily found in these articles.[1] On July 11, 1575 (long after the Crypto-Calvinists had been unmasked), the representatives of the four cities met once more, this time at Moelln. They accepted the revision of Chytraeus as laid before them. It was resolved that the document should now be sent to the Swabians for their approval of the changes. They should then sign it and return it for the signatures of the northern cities, who would then publish it as the agreement of Lower Saxony and the Swabians.

The Swabian-Saxon articles were sent to Chemnitz. Before forwarding them to Tuebingen he in-

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This proves that the manuscript at his disposal was mixed up in some way and his arrangement is not reliable.

[1] Chytraeus is very voluminous in his presentation. A sample of his style which approaches that of Guericke can be seen by studying the construction of Nos. 43-47 in Mueller, page 655.

duced other cities to approve them.[1] Finally, on September 5, 1575, he forwarded the confession to Andreae, who had already inquired anxiously concerning the state of the matter. We can easily imagine the surprise of Andreae when he received the manuscript. He had submitted a short, terse and popular review of the controversies; and now he received a learned treatise full of Latin terms and technical phrases. It was difficult to trace the framework of his draft. The document was so little in line with the Swabian idea that the theologians laid the matter upon the table for the next few months. Chemnitz meanwhile was busy spreading it among the northern Lutherans and enlisting their co-operation. He forwarded it to Pomerania and Prussia and other sections, inviting the leaders there to become a party to the statement of the genuine Lutheran doctrine.

It is impossible to catalogue here the changes which were made in the Swabian Concordie. A great many of them were abandoned through the changes made in the succeeding revisions. The most essential change was the substitution of articles two and seven in which very little of the previous material was retained.[2]

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[1] Heppe (III, page 57) makes the statement that Chemnitz once more used his pen and made editorial changes. He does not state his authority for this assertion. I have found no record concerning this.

[2] The Bertelsmann Verlag at Guetersloh was about to publish a comparison of the various stages of the text, presenting a survey of the gradual growth, when the war broke out. This comparison has been composed by the author. The

manuscript is still in the author's possession; he hopes to issue it sometime in the near future. As long as it is not published scholars who specialize on the Form of Concord may have the use of the manuscript.

CHAPTER V

The Completion of the Formula of Concord

18. THE MAULBRUNN FORMULA

Not only the Jena theologians (whom Elector August hated most bitterly as Flacianists) but also others, had again and again warned the elector against his theologians. There were among these also some princes whom August knew to be as sincere Lutherans (and not Flacianists) as he desired to be himself. The old Count Ernest of Henneberg, who had personally called on him when the *Exegesis Perspicua* had been published,[1] warned him that he should be careful how he would fill the vacancies and whom he would choose as his advisers. August expressed the wish that some of the genuine Lutherans should furnish him a statement in which the distinctive doctrines would be plainly presented, so that he could test his theologians. In November, 1575, the count met the Margrave Karl of Baden at the wedding of Duke Louis of Wuertemberg. The three princes discussed the conditions of the Church, and Count Ernest told of his conversation with August. He had hopes that a Pan-Lutheran unification might result.

The princes inquired of the three theologians present, Lucas Osiander, Balthasar Bidembach and

[1] For the history of the Crypto-Calvinistic intrigues see the historical introduction to Articles 7 and 8.

Adam Scherdinger, for their opinion as to how such a statement should be composed. On November 14, 1575, these men presented their suggestions in writing. The simplest way would be: 1. To state the text of the article of the Augsburg Confession under discussion. 2. The erroneous view should be outlined without mentioning any names. 3. The doctrine of the Augsburg Confession should then be proven by Scripture passages. 4. To this should be added the historical proof from the Apology, Smalcald Articles and Luther's Catechisms. 5. Finally a few plain and clear quotations should be added from the writings of Luther. No quotations should be taken from Melanchthon's books, since his later writings differed considerably from those of former years.

The princes approved this plan, and then instructed Lucas Osiander and Bidembach to write a statement along these lines. This was done and the draft was discussed at Maulbrunn by representatives of the three princes and signed January 16, 1576. This is the Maulbrunn Formula. The arrangement of the articles here is as follows: 1. Original Sin. 2. The Person of Christ. 3. Justification. 4. Law and the Gospel. 5. Good Works. 6. The Lord's Supper. 7. Adiaphora. 8. Free Will. 9. The Third Use of the Law.

The Swabian-Saxon Concordia had been received at Tuebingen, and, no doubt, was accessible to Osiander. Whether he made use of it and to what extent has not been investigated. The text of the Maulbrunn Formula was unknown until the original was found at Dresden in 1866 by Th. Pressel. He published it in the *"Jahrbuecher fuer deutsche Theologie,"* 1866, Vol.

xi, pages 640ff. It then remained unknown until the Calwer history directed attention of scholars to its place of publication. The relation of the text of the Maulbrunn Formula to the text of the Formula of Concord had formerly not been investigated. Heppe published his *"Text des Bergischen Buchs"* nine years before the text of the Maulbrunn Formula was printed.

The parts taken over from the Maulbrunn Formula are: Introduction, Nos. 1-10; 11-13 (with a few changes); Art. I, Nos. 35-38; Art. II, Nos. 28-45; Art. VI, No. 12; Art. VII, Nos. 20-32; Art. VIII, Nos. 81-86 (with changes); Art. X, Nos. 19-23.

19. THE TORGAU BOOK

The Elector of Saxony had been convinced by the investigation following after the publication of the *Exegesis Perspicua* that his Crypto-Calvinistic theologians had knowingly and willfully deceived him. He had found convicting evidence in their private correspondence that they had deliberately planned to bring Saxony into the ranks of the Calvinistic states. He laid this evidence before the estates of his country. He now also decided to join the endeavors of others to bring about a Pan-Lutheran unification by uniting all Lutheran countries through the adoption of one common *Corpus Doctrinae*. This plan was approved by the estates and by the rulers of Brandenburg, Hessia and Henneberg. Elector August therefore, at the request of his estates, after the collapse of Crypto-Calvinism, assembled his chief theologians at Lichtenberg February 15, and asked them for their opinion

as to the way in which this plan of unification could best me realized.[1]

The theologians recommended the following plan: The basis for union is to be the adoption of the Scriptures, the Ecumenical Creeds, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Smalcald Articles. The Saxon Crypto-Calvinistic writings are to be abolished. A convention of pacific and unsuspected Lutheran theologians should be arranged in order to discuss the articles of the Augsburg Confession (as suggested by the Landgrave of Hessia). Chytraeus, Chemnitz, Andreae and Marbach should be among these theologians.

The elector now requested Duke William to grant an indeterminate furlough to Jacob Andreae in order that he might be used by the elector for this specific work. Andreae arrived at Torgau on the 9th of April, and at once set to work. The two documents received by the elector were turned over to him. The following theologians, selected as representatives of various countries, were requested to meet with the Saxon theologians at Torgau on May 28, 1576: Andreae of Swabia, Chemnitz of Braunschweig, Chytraeus of Mecklenburg, Andreas Musculus and Christoph Koerner of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, from Brandenburg. The Saxons were: Crell, Harder, Moerlin (Coburg), Selneccer, Greser, Mirus, Lysthenius, Jagenteufel, Cornicaelius, Sagittarius, Glaser and Heydenreich.

This assembly was requested by the elector to dis-

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[1] For details of these deliberations see Richard, pages 420-421.

cuss the past controversies on the basis of the Maulbrunn Formula and the Swabian-Saxon Concord. They were instructed to propose a formula which might be submitted to all Lutheran princes for approval. Andreae had suggested to the elector that the Maulbrunn Formula should be made the basis of the new confession, since it was so very simple and yet to the point; but Chemnitz and Chytraeus preferred to use the Swabian-Saxon Concordia as the basis. This latter document was known by this time to all outside of the Saxonies, and had been approved universally, while the Maulbrunn Formula was known to few outside of the authors. They suggested that suitable parts from the Maulbrunn Formula might be inserted into the Swabian-Saxon agreement. This motion prevailed. It was furthermore decided that all the Latin passages and terms be either dropped or translated. The two forms were then carefully compared. The introduction of the Maulbrunn Formula was substituted for the first part of the former introduction. (Compare Mueller, page 565, Nos. 1-10.) No. 11 was also taken over.

The following additions were made besides translating all Latin phrases. (So thorough were the authors in hunting for Latin phrases that they even translated the title of Luther's book, "*De servo arbitrio.*")

Art. I: A few editorial changes were made, and Nos. 35-38 were taken over from the Maulbrunn Formula.

Art. II: Nos. 28-45 were taken over from the Maulbrunn Formula.

Art. III: Nos. 3, 4, 18, 19 and 67 were added.

Art. IV: Nos. 4, 5 and 36 were added.

Art. V: Nos. 7, 10 and 11 were added; No. 12 was taken over from the Maulbrunn Formula.

Art. VI: No. 1 was recast; Nos. 15-19 were added.

Art. VII: Nos. 4 and 5 were added; Nos. 20-32 were inserted from the Maulbrunn Formula.

Art. VIII: Nos. 13-30 were inserted new, also the passages, Matt. 28, John 13, Col. 2 in No. 70. Nos. 80-86 were taken from the Maulbrunn Formula.

Art. IX: was inserted as a new article. It contained a sermon of Luther with an introduction.

Art. X: Nos. 18-23 were inserted from the Maulbrunn Formula, and No. 25 was added.

Art. XI: Nos. 15, 24, 28, 39, 40 were revised.[1]

On June 7 the theologians reported to the elector that they had completed their work. A service of thanksgiving was held in which Selneccer preached. Similar thanksgiving services were held in Mecklenburg and in the cities of Lower Saxony.

The elector now had many copies made in handwriting of this document, which is known as the "Torgau Book." These he sent to the various Lutheran princes and cities with the request that the matter should be submitted to their theologians for their opinions. The replies should be sent for consideration to the elector. Chemnitz was instructed to correspond with the cities of Lower Saxony and with Prussia.

[1] This shows that the assertion of Richard, page 423, that the diplomacy of Andreae gave the Formula of Concord a "decidedly Swabian complexion," is not borne out by the facts.

Andreae solicited the co-operation of Holstein and Hessia.

During the summer and fall of 1576 conventions were held in almost all Lutheran countries, and the "opinions" (*censurae*) were submitted to the elector, who received most of them by February 1, 1577. The great majority of these opinions expressed unqualified approval of the doctrines as formulated in the Torgau Book. A great many minor changes were proposed. The "opinion" of Swabia and Baden was most practical; for it not only offered criticism of passages, but also proposed a better form where changes were suggested; most of these were adopted. The censures from the countries in which Philippism was strong objected to the fact that Melanchthon's name and works had been intentionally omitted; so Hessia, Pomerania, Anhalt, Magdeburg, Simmern. On the other hand, the opinion from Prussia was outspokenly anti-Melanchthonian, and demanded that Melanchthon and others should be condemned by name. In regard to the doctrinal statement there was little criticism.

20. THE BERGEN BOOK

After the censures had been received, two (perhaps three) meetings were held at Bergen, near Magdeburg, and the various suggestions were carefully considered. Andreae had prepared copies of the Torgau Book with a wide margin on which the respective censures had been noted, so that each member had the material for discussion under his eyes. In consideration of the almost universal criticism that the document was altogether too voluminous, Andreae had composed a

summary, called the Epitome, which was considered and approved. In this he presented in each article: 1. A brief statement of the respective controversy. 2. A positive statement of the Lutheran doctrine. 3. A statement of the various false doctrines rejected. At the first meeting, March 1-14, Andreae, Chemnitz and Selneccer carefully considered the criticisms offered. Many recommendations were accepted and embodied. At the second meeting also Chytraeus and Musculus were present. The changes adopted at the previous meeting were discussed and adopted by a majority vote. Chytraeus felt offended that so many changes were made in the articles of which he was the author —the second, on Free Will, and the seventh, on the Lord's Supper. Here many paragraphs had been either condensed or merely omitted. This had been done to shorten the document.

The following changes were made in the Torgau Book at Bergen:

Art. I: Nos. 9, 57-62 were added. Changes were made in Nos. 2, 5, 10, 13, 27, 33, 38, 43, 44, 45, 54, 56.

Art. II: Nos. 1-7 were substituted for the previous elaborate material concerning which there was no disagreement. Nos. 16, 23, 29, 44 (end), 59-63 (as substitute, 65, 66, 68 (as substitute), 76, 86 and 90 (as substitute), were inserted. Changes were made in Nos. 77 and 83.

Art. III: Nos. 6 and 9 were added; Nos. 1, 15, 20, 21, 29, 39, 43 and 56 were revised.

Art. IV: No. 10 was added; changes were made in Nos. 1, 3, 8, 17, 29.

Art. V: Additions were made in Nos. 13, 19, 22

(last sentence). Changes were made in Nos. 5, 6, 15 and 24.

Art. VI: In No. 49 the last clause was added, and Nos. 7, 17 and 18 were revised.

Art. VII: Additions were made to Nos. 37 and 60; (sections following here were omitted), 62 (followed by omissions), 90 (then again omissions,) 91, 104 and 105. Changes were made in Nos. 67, 69, 92 and 128.

Art. VIII: Additions to the text were made in Nos. 12, 18, 19, 28-30, 61, 62, 70 (last two sentences), 83 (quotations more complete). Nos. 31-35 and 38-45 were inserted as substitutes. Changes were made in Nos. 9, 26, 52, 64 and 82.

Art IX: The present form was substituted for the long sermon of Luther.

Art. X: Only No. 24 was added.

Art. XI: Additions were made in Nos. 6, 37, 55 at end, and in 88 the first sentence was added. Changes in Nos. 42 and 52.

Art. XII: No. 13 was added and Nos. 6 and 40 were revised.

21. THE ADOPTION AND PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK OF CONCORD

It must be borne in mind that at this time almost every Lutheran country had its own symbolical *Corpus*. Every one contained the Augsburg Confession, but very few were entirely alike in the other constituent parts. It was the idea of the Elector of Saxony that one collection of authoritative books should be received in all Lutheran countries. As such symbolical books the Bergen Book specified the Ecumenical

Creeds, the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, the two Catechisms of Luther and the Smalcald Articles. When it became evident, in 1578, that the work of unification would be brought about by the almost universal adoption of the Formula of Concord, the elector at once corresponded with the other Lutheran princes and proposed that now the various books recognized in the Formula should be printed together with the new document. The printing commenced as early as 1578, under the direction of Jakob Andreae, assisted by Peter Glaser and Caspar Fueger, at Dresden. The theologians composed two introductions for this normative edition of Lutheran symbols. One was to be signed by the princes, and contained a statement why these documents were given to the world. (This is the introduction to the Book of Concord.) The other introduction was a statement by the theologians in which they replied to various attacks upon the Formula of Concord and in which they interpreted their position. At the demand of the new elector of the Palatinate (the Lutheran son of the Reformed Frederick) it was changed into an epilogue; but finally it was omitted entirely and only that section containing the patristic quotations concerning the person of Christ was added as an Appendix.[1]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confes-

[1] This projected introduction or epilogue was found and published by Pressel. (See *"Jahrbuecher fuer deutsche Theologie,"* XI, pages 711-742.) It is of great historical value, as it refutes many assertions and charges which were made at that time and are repeated even to-day. It interprets a few controverted points.

sion this collection of symbolical documents was published at Dresden and named: the Book of Concord. It had the fate of many books of that day, viz., either eliminations of typographical errors or changes of type during the slow process of printing. Reprints at Magdeburg and Tuebingen were issued in the same year by speculative publishers.

In the Formula of Concord the German text is the authorized text which was adopted by the princes and subscribed by the Church officials. Already in 1578 Lucas Osiander of Tuebingen began to translate it and Jacob Heerbrand finished the work. A Latin edition of the whole Book of Concord was published in 1580 as a private work of Selneccer. His translation of the Formula was revised at Quedlinburg in 1583 by Chemnitz, and published the next year as the official translation. It became the *textus receptus*. The best German-Latin edition is the edition of J. H. Mueller (*Bertelsmann Verlag*). The best English edition is that of H. E. Jacobs.[1]

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[1] For the various editions, see Mueller and Jacobs, or Richard.

CHAPTER VI

The Formula of Concord as a Lutheran Symbol

22. Its Adoption

The theologians assembled at Torgau and Bergen had been instructed by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to present a doctrinal statement of the genuine Lutheran doctrine. The Book of Bergen, therefore, on May 28, 1577, was no more than a report to the two princes absolutely on a par with the statement which Melanchthon had presented to the princes at Augsburg before they attached their signatures to the document. These two princes now approved this declaration of the genuine Lutheran doctrine, and communicated it to the other Lutheran princes with the request that they should likewise approve it and adopt it as the standard for their churches. This was done by the third Protestant elector (Louis of the Palatinate) and by twenty princes, twenty-four counts, four barons and twenty-four cities. By the adoption through the rulers the Formula of Concord became the standard according to which all public preaching and teaching was to be regulated.

It had been proposed to call a general synod, at which the work of the theologians assembled at Torgau and Bergen should be discussed and eventually ratified or revised. The opponents of the Formula outside of the Lutheran Church were especially emphatic

in demanding such a convocation; they hoped to have the Lutheran character of the document changed on such an occasion. No such synod had ever been held, and it would not have been in line with the organization of the Lutheran Church at that time. Synods and assemblies, according to the organization which had come into existence after the break with Romanism, had only an advisory character. There was no universal Lutheran Church from the standpoint of organization at that time; nor has there ever been one. Local and territorial conventions had expressed themselves in regard to the doctrinal contents of the document. By the treaty of Passau and the Peace of Augsburg the principle had been established (which is in force in Europe to this day) that the legal representative of the non-Romanist Churches is the ruling power of the country; according to this principle both Lutheran and Reformed princes governed their countries at that time and afterwards. According to the principle: *Cujus regio, ejus religio,* the head of the state was made *ex officio* the representative of the Church. This fact must be considered in studying the question whether the Formula of Concord was adopted legally or not by the Lutheran Church in 1580. The adoption of the document finished at Bergen by the rulers was all that was necessary to make it a symbolical book. The rejection by a ruler was all that was required for its rejection.

This procedure may be called an "act of usurpation on the part of the state" (Richard). But then the adoption of the Augsburg Confession was still more an act of usurpation; for at that time the principle had

not yet been established making the princes the legal representatives. In our modern democratic time, especially here in America, this method would be impossible, since it would be impossible under our synodical organization. But in the autocratic age it was the form in which all laws and regulations, both in church and state were made. It is an anachronism to demand for that period the method of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or an American method in semi-medieval Europe.

The princes had adopted the Formula of Concord, as they legally could and might do as the recognized territorial representatives of the territorial Church. They had not done so without the advice of their legal advisers. They now presented this new confession to all their church officials, and demanded a specific declaration whether these recognized it as their symbolical standard or not. As in our age every Church demands from every candidate for ordination a formal, solemn declaration that he accepts the authority of the respective confession, so here the new confession was laid before all persons who were engaged in the work of the Church as a test of their orthodoxy. It is true that "the ministers and teachers, whose rulers had approved the Formula of Concord, had the alternative presented, either expressly or by implication, of subscribing or of being discharged from the post of pastor or teacher" (Richard, page 499). But the same would take place in any Church to-day that still has or clings to any confession. Representatives of the princes visited the different districts and presented the book for subscription. It was read, and wherever ob-

jections were voiced they were answered. In Saxony only one pastor, one superintendent and one school teacher refused to subscribe. In Brandenburg the same result was obtained; only that here the approval was unanimous at one synodical meeting at Lebus, July 22. No opposition was found in Lower Saxony and Wuertemberg. In Mecklenburg the superintendent of Wismar and one or two pastors refused to attach their signatures. They were temporarily suspended from office and were granted time for consideration. When they continued to refuse their signature they were formally deposed from office and had to find another way of making their living. In Prussia the markgrave, George Frederick, consulted the bishop (Wigand) and the assembled clergy. These approved, although their request that all heterodox teachers should be specified by name had been rejected. The markgrave then accepted it, and made it obligatory for Prussia. In all about 8000 signatures were attached to the Formula of Concord.[1]

23. THE REJECTION OF THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

There were countries in which the rulers were under the influence of theologians who were not favorable to the new statement of Lutheran faith. The practical result was that in these countries the Formula was not adopted—at least, not at that time. This was not done by a popular vote of the congregations or the clergy, but by the act of the rulers.

[1] A list of signatures is given in the old editions of the Book of Concord. The first editions of Mueller had then also; in later editions they were omitted. (See Schmauk, page 671.)

In Holstein Andreae had given offence to the ambitious leading minister, Paul von Eitzen. He felt hurt that he had not been invited to take part in the revision of the articles. In consequence of this personal animosity the duke was counselled by him to reply that there was no need of a new symbol in Holstein. The old doctrine was retained here in its purity without the approval of the new Formula.

In Pomerania the theologians were not yet ready to sacrifice their Luthero-Melanchthonian Corpus. They emphatically declared themselves as satisfied with the doctrine of the Formula. Some time later (1593) they formally adopted the seventh, eighth and eleventh articles, and thereby declared themselves as opposed to Calvinism in these fundamental distinctive doctrines. Finally they accepted the Book of Concord and abandoned the Pomeranian Corpus.

In Magdeburg, Frankfurt-on-the-Main and Nuernberg there were influential men who resented the treatment of the Preceptor in the Formula. They also felt injured in their dignity (as also those at Strasburg, Spires and Worms) that they had not been asked to co-operate in the initial stages. They did, however, not reject the doctrine. Also Danzig, Weissenburg and Windsheim refused to accept it. Later on, though, these cities joined the others in making the acceptance of the Formula obligatory on the clergy.

In Cleve-Berg, Mark and Ravensberg, Halberstadt, Osnabrueck, Ortenburg, Austria, Bohemia, a part of Silesia and Lausitz, the Roman government prevented the pastors and teachers to express their acceptance by a formal approval. The public doctrine, however,

was that of the Formula without a formal obligation.

Crypto-Calvinism showed itself in Bremen, Liegnitz, Brieg and Wohlau, Hesse-Cassel, Anhalt, Zweibruecken, Nassau, Bentheim, Tecklenburg and Solms. Here the rulers rejected the Formula. These finally were guided by their theological leaders to the part of the Church which these leaders chose in preference to the Lutheranism of the other parts of Germany—to the Church of Calvin.

24. THE FORMULA OF CONCORD IN THE NEXT CENTURIES

In the great struggle between Lutheran and Calvinistic theology the attacks on the Formula of Concord were bitter and unceasing. On the other hand, the importance of this final declaration of Lutheran theology became evident. Attacks were made by the Philippists and Calvinists even before the book was printed, and more so after the publication. A voluminous controversial literature bears witness of the conflict. In the period beginning with John Gerhard, the whole Lutheran theology was moulded by the Book of Concord. In doing this the Melanchthonian scholasticism became supreme. The example of Melanchthon led to a traditionalistic type of Lutheranism which became one-sided. The school of Wittenberg-Leipzig was the exponent of extreme Lutheranism over against which the Helmstaedt school of Calixtus reacted. The school of Jena (especially John Musaeus) took a middle course, retaining everything Lutheran, but not emphasizing the traditional over against the exegetical. The endeavor to make the the-

ology of Calovius normative through the *Consensus Repetitus* failed on account of the opposition of the Jena faculty.

Pietism was in part a reaction against the unsound tendencies of the dominating scholasticism. The "fathers of pietism" (Spener and Francke) were strictly confessional in their theology; but their successors more and more abandoned the allegiance to the old standards of Lutheranism, because it did not agree with their doctrinal construction. Rationalism, the un-Christian child of Pietism and Scholasticism, considered the Book of Concord merely as a dead historical testimony as to how the Christian doctrine had been understood in the non-illuminated age of the Reformation.

In the revival of Christian life the Lutheran Church returned to the old declaration of the faith of the fathers and re-established the symbolical character of the Book of Concord (including the Formula of Concord). Wherever the true Lutheran doctrine gained the upper hand, the Formula of Concord was recognized as the correct interpretation of the divine revelation, and was again adopted, not as a dead letter, but as a living testimony of the fathers approved on account of its intrinsic value.

25. THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH AND THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

In the first era of the Lutheran Church in America, from the immigration of the first Lutheran settlers to the organization of the General Synod, the type of Lutheranism which was to be found in the new world

was that of the home countries, that of the Formula of Concord. Not only the Dutch and Swedish, but also the German Lutheran pastors had to declare their adherence to the doctrine of the Lutheran Church as laid down symbolically in the Book of Concord.

In the second era, from 1820 to 1840, we find a development of the American Lutheran Church which drifted away from the old standards until it found a formal codification in the so-called "Synodical Platform."[1] A reaction, however, set in within the American Lutheran Church. The final outcome of this development "back to the Lutheranism of Muehlenberg" culminated in the reassertion of the Book of Concord. The General Council was the first General Body which recognized the Formula of Concord, together with the other symbolical books of 1580, as the true presentation of the Scriptural doctrine of Luther. The fourth General Body, the Synodical Conference (organized in 1872), of course knew no other standard. When the General Synod of the South reorganized as the United Synod of the South, its doctrinal basis was that of the Book of Concord. The Norwegian Synod (following the historical development of Norway) specifies only the Augsburg Confession; but, in fact, it stands upon the Book of Concord and obligates all professors of theology to teach in accordance with it. The United Norwegian Synod has the same position. The independent German Synods (Ohio, Iowa and Buffalo)

[1]Particulars concerning the doctrinal development of American Lutheranism are given in Neve, "History of the Lutheran Church in America," second and revised edition.

adopt the Book of Concord without qualification in the historical sense.

When the General Synod, in 1913, revised its Constitution, it declared:

"While the General Synod regards the Augsburg Confession as a sufficient and altogether adequate doctrinal basis for co-operation of Lutheran Synods, it also recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Small Catechism of Luther, the Large Catechism of Luther and the Formula of Concord as expositions of Lutheran doctrine of great historical and interpretative value, and especially commends the Small Catechism as a book of instruction" (Art. III).

Epilogue to First Part

We have studied the general outlines of the origin of the Formula of Concord. Introduction into a subject for a great many stops where it should really commence. We have merely reached the portals. More important than these historical facts is an acquaintance with the Formula of Concord itself. The writings of not a few scholars, lauded for their learning, show that their studies have not extended very much beyond this line. For a conscientious student the book itself is a main object of investigation. A true Lutheran student who has imbibed the "*Formalprinzip*" of Lutherans and made it his own, approaches the study of the Formula of Concord with the sincere willingness to accept it in case that it agrees with the Word of God, as the Lutheran Church testifies that it does. The Lutheran Church demands and exacts no other vow

of ordination except one that is based upon the conviction that here the contents of divine revelation are presented in a pure and undefiled form. And this unity of faith is the one bond uniting all true Lutherans. May the time soon come when all parts of our American Lutheran Church stand united internally on the common historical basis, the Book of Concord!

PART II

The Formula of Concord Itself

A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIVIDUAL ARTICLES AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE SAME

PART I

The Epitome

In consideration of the almost universal criticism that the Formula of Concord was too cumbersome Andreae prepared an extract or synopsis of the main points. This is the Epitome. Here in each article we have: First, a statement of the controversy; secondly, the affirmation or statement of the correct doctrine; thirdly, the negative, or rejection of false dogmas.

It would be superfluous to give details here.

PART II

Solid Declaration

The Formula of Concord Itself

THE PREFACE[1]

1. The pure Lutheran doctrine was formulated in 1530 at Augsburg; we intend to abide by that Confession as the true symbol of our time. 1-5.

2. Some theologians have departed from the Augsburg Confession, and have thereby caused serious controversies, and have given offence to the weak. 6-8. These are not mere disputes about words, but controversies concerning intolerable errors. 9.

3. It is, therefore, necessary to consider what articles agree with the Bible and the Confessions. 10.

THE STANDARDS OF JUDGMENT

1. It is necessary to have some approved summary of scriptural doctrine, so that all writings may be tested by that standard. We do not intend to make a new confession, but will use only the old and established confessions. 1-2.

2. We, therefore, confess our adherence to:

   (*a*) The whole Bible as the pure, clear fountain of Israel, and the only true standard by which all teachers and doctrines are to be judged. 3.

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[1] Of this introduction Nos. 1-10 were taken from the Maulbrunn Formula and substituted for the Swabian-Saxon Form.

(*b*) The Ecumenical Creeds as brief confessions against the old heresies. 4.

(*c*) The Unaltered Augsburg Confession as the symbol of our time against recent heresies. 5.

(*d*) The Apology as an explanation and proof of the same. 6.

(*e*) The Articles of Smalcald as a repetition and expansion of the same. 7.

(*f*) The Small and Large Catechisms as popular presentations. 8.

3. These public writings were always considered short compilations of the doctrine of Luther, which is explained at length in his books. To these books we appeal as subordinate explanations of the Scriptural doctrine. 9.

Other pure books are not to be rejected, but are not to be placed upon the same level with the above-named official publications of the Lutheran Church. 11.

4. Nobody can take exception to these documents, since they date from the time preceding the controversies, and hence can be true standards. 12-13.

THE ANTITHESES, OR REJECTION OF ERRORS

1. It is a duty to reject all errors. Hence we must distinguish between useless wrangling and necessary controversies. 15.

2. The aforesaid writings show what is true and false; yet to make matters more distinct and to prevent

secret errors, we reject:

(*a*) All ancient heresies.
(*b*) The sects and heresies condemned in the above-named books.
(*c*) In regard to recent divisions, we shall state in each article the correct and the false doctrines. 19-20.

ARTICLE I. CONCERNING ORIGINAL SIN

I. Historical Introduction

It was during the disputation at Weimar (1560) that Flacius replied to the assertion of Strigel, "Original sin is *accidentia,* not *substantia,*" that this was not correct, since the substance of man has become original sin. This peculiar assertion was passed by and was not discussed by Strigel. However, the associates of Flacius, Heshusius and Wigand, discussed this matter with him during the recesses. They were afraid that the opponents would attack their side on account of this statement and would call them Manichaeans. But other topics were of more importance to Strigel, so that he passed by this one phrase. Melanchthon more than once had called Flacius a Manichaean on account of similar assertions.

The opposition of his friends induced Flacius to develop his views in an essay which he submitted to them. Simon Musaeus and his son-in-law, Heshusius, at first saw nothing that was essentially wrong, and approved the essay. But Moerlin and Chemnitz protested in private against the theory of Flacius. The essay was finally published as an article in the famous book of Flacius, *Clavis scripturae sacrae* (1567). This moved Moerlin publicly to warn his associate ministers against the new error. This precipitated an open controversy among the Gnesio-Lutherans. Quite a number of pamphlets were published for and against

the view of Flacius. Heshusius arranged a colloquy in 1569, but no agreement was reached.

Flacius had very few scholars on his side. The most prominent of his partisans were Cyriacus Spangenburg, Irenaeus, Coelestin, Wolf, Schneider, and not a few ministers who were of the opinion that the Lutheran doctrine of natural corruption could only thus be retained. Flacius was ostracized by his former pupils and friends, for they were afraid for their reputation if they only corresponded with him. When the Gnesio-Lutherans were recalled to ducal Saxony, Flacius was not reinstated. He asked in vain that his former friends should at least hear him. Andreae tried to settle the matter through a private interview at Strasburg (August 10, 1571). It became evident that in regard to the doctrine itself there was very little difference between Flacius and Andreae. But Flacius refused to abandon the phrase which was so obnoxious: "Original sin is the substance of man," "Man has become sin," etc. Other colloquies (at Mansfeld and in Silesia) were also in vain. Finally the city council of Strasburg requested Flacius to leave their territory. He found a place of refuge at Frankfurt, but again was ordered to leave this place; death mercifully delivered him from further persecutions of the Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans. He died on March 11, 1575.

The controversy was fought not only by the learned, but also by the common people. This was especially the case in Mansfeld, the home of Cyriacus Spangenberg. Here an insurrection finally induced this Flacianist and the count, Vollrat, to leave the city; they re-

tired to Strasburg and adhered to Flacianism to their end. We hear here and there of ministers who were removed from their office on account of this heresy, so at Lindau, Antwerpen and Regensburg. Many exiled Flacianist ministers found a new home in Austria, since there Lutheran ministers were very scarce; but they were forbidden to use the phrase "accidence" and "substance" in the pulpits.

II. The Doctrine of Flacius

In order to pass a just judgment on Flacius, we must take into consideration his intentions and his definition.

(1) The Intentions of Flacius. The assertion which made an end to the career of this greatest of Luther's pupils was uttered against the synergism of Strigel. The synergists assert that man has retained "some" natural power and capacity to apply himself to the will of God. This innate strength is said to be very weak or bound or suspended (*e.g.*, as garlic suspends magnetism). In opposition to this view (which tries to ascribe to man more or less of a remnant of innate capability), Flacius claims that man is totally unable to do anything good in the eyes of God before conversion; he has no power and strength; he is as unable to come to God as a dead person is to come to me. Yea, it is even worse: man by nature is an enemy of God, and all his desires and inclinations are utterly opposed to God. In short, the intention of Flacius is to retain the doctrine so plainly taught by Luther and expressed so splendidly in the *sine et cum* of the Augsburg Confession. This fact was recognized by

Melanchthon, who at Worms refused to condemn Flacius as the Romans demanded; for, he said, they wish to condemn Luther's doctrine under the name of Flacius. But in defending the doctrine of Luther, Flacius fell into an error—an error of terms.

(2) The Terminology of Flacius. As soon as the use of terms is understood, the matter becomes very plain, and the nonsensical phrase of Flacius becomes intelligible. Flacius distinguishes between *substantia materialis* and *substantia formalis*. According to him, the *substantia materialis* is that out of which something is composed, *e.g.*, man is composed of body and soul; glass is the material substance, composed of certain chemicals. Every *substantia materialis* has, however, existence in a certain form; this is expressed by Flacius through the expression, *substantia formalis*. Of glass it is either a tumbler, window pane, etc. And so man exists since the fall only utterly corrupted and utterly sinful. All men are by birth sinners. This is the real meaning of the phrase of Flacius.

(3) The Real "Heresy" of Flacius. If we consider the teaching of Flacius in its true light, his error consists in trying to make the world speak and define as he speaks and defines, instead of speaking as the rest of mankind speaks. A second error is that he clings to his pet phrase, and refuses to abandon it in favor of a better and more intelligible expression. We must, however, not overlook the fact that his pupils went beyond the master, and interpreted the phrase in its literal sense, and thus went more and more astray.

(4) The Decision of the Controversy. In this

article Chemnitz very skilfully solves the difficulty by first establishing the fact that "sin" must be distinguished from man. Then a definition is given of "substance" (self-existing subjects) and "accidence" (existing only in conjunction with substances). According to this definition, sin is not substance, but accidence; but the terrible character of this accidence in man must always be emphasized.

III. History of the Text

In this article of the Formula Chemnitz replaced the draft of Andreae[1] by a new presentation of the doc-

[1] ANDREAE'S DRAFT

1. Original sin is not the work of God, but of the devil. All the powers of man are utterly corrupted; not only are the intellect and will corrupt, but also the nature and essence of man are in such condition that all men are lost from the moment of conception.

2. But a distinction must be made between nature of man and original sin; the latter comes from the devil, the former from God. Hence we find in every man, nature, thoughts, words and deeds which are produced by God, if we consider them in themselves; but these are corrupted by sin.

3. We must also distinguish between original sin and actual sin; the former is the source of all sinful acts. Luther calls it, for this reason, sin of nature, sin of person.

Yet the two are not identical, since original sin is the corruption of nature. Hence nature has not become "sin," but "sinful."

4. For this reason we reject: (*a*) the Pelagian doctrine; (*b*) the Flacian.

5. This doctrine is in accordance with other articles, for it gives all honor to God and all blame to the devil; it does not belittle the corruption of man, but points it out as it is;

trine. In doing so, he largely used as his basis the official resolutions passed by the Lower Saxons in regard to Flacianism.

Nos. 1-4 was composed by Andreae; Nos. 5-34 by Chemnitz (based upon the Enchiridion and *Corpus Julii*); Nos. 35-38 is material taken verbally from the Maulbrunn Formula; Nos. 39-54 was composed by Chemnitz (same as above); No. 54b was added at Torgau, and Nos. 56-62 at Bergen.

IV. Contents of the Article Itself

I. The controversy itself

1. Some said: Man's nature and essence are sin. 1.

2. Others said: Original sin and the nature of man must be distinguished. 2.

This controversy is not unnecessary wrangling about words, but concerns more than one important doctrine. 3-4.

II. A short statement of the correct doctrine

1. Not only are actual transgressions to be regarded as sins, but the deep and terrible corruption of man's nature is the root and source of all actual sins. 5. Hence man is by his birth sinful and under the condemnation even before he thinks, speaks or commits evil. 6.

2. Not God, but the devil, is the author of original sin (*cf.* Art. 19 of the Augsburg Confession). Neither does God create sin within us, but with the nature which God creates sin is propagated. 7.

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it glorifies the merit and atonement of Christ, who alone has rescued us.

3. The true character of original sin can be learned only from revelation. 8.

4. The correct doctrine is briefly outlined in the Apology, which shows:

(*a*) The universality of sin; (*b*) the negative side, namely, lack of original righteousness; (*c*) the positive side, a fathomless corruption; (*d*) the penalty, eternal condemnation; (*e*) the only remedy: Christ, whom we receive in baptism and by faith. 9-15.

III. REJECTION OF ERRORS CONCERNING ORIGINAL SIN

(*a*) *Pelagian and Pelagianizing errors:*

1. That original sin is only a debt, without corruption (Zwingli).

2. That evil lusts are not sin, but natural conditions (Scholastics).

3. That original sin is not really a condemning sin (Same).

4. That nature is incorrupt and perfect (Same).

5. That original sin is only a slight blemish (Synergists).

6. That it is merely an external impediment (Synergists).

7. That man has not entirely lost all power in spiritual things (Synergists).

All these errors are contrary to the Scriptures. 16-25.

(*b*) The *Manichaean error:* Since the fall, original sin has been infused into human nature, which has been created good. The error is rejected:

1. For sin did not enter into Adam in this way, but he was perverted and corrupted. 27. Since then

human nature has been sinful and corrupt from the very first moment. 28.

2. The two must be distinguished in such a way as to teach that human nature is good by itself, but only the original sin within it is evil. 29.

3. Because of the corruption, the entire human nature is subject to damnation, and is accused. 31-32.

IV. THE PROOF FOR THIS DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATURE AND SIN

1. The article of creation: God creates man, but not sin. 34-42.

2. The article of redemption: Christ has assumed human nature, but not original sin. 43-44.

3. The article of sanctification: God cleanses us from sin, but we retain our nature. 45.

4. The article of resurrection: We shall rise with our nature, but without sin. 46-47.

Conclusion: Hence the identification of nature and sin is an error. 48-49.

V. DECISION IN REGARD TO EXPRESSIONS

1. General principle: It is best to follow the expressions used by the Scriptures and the above-named symbolical books. 50.

2. The different terms:

(*a*) "Nature" is an ambiguous word, and may mean either the essence, as, for example, of God, creatures; the nature of man is his body and soul; or, the disposition, *e.g.*, it is the serpent's nature to bite. 51.

(*b*) "Original sin" has different meanings; (1) It designates the deep corruption of human nature (Smalcald Articles). 52. (2) It also means: sinful from the beginning (so Luther). 53.

(*c*) "Substance," "accident." In sermons these terms should not be used; in school work they may be employed, but should be carefully explained. 54a.

Here "substance" means: independent existence, and "accident" existing only with independent essences. 54b.

Then sin is not "substance," but an "accident." 55-59

But what a horrible accident! No human reason can fathom this unspeakable evil. 60.

If explained in this way, the terms are not harmful. 61.

(*d*) Luther used the terms "accident" and "quality," but always described sin as a horrible corruption. 62.

ARTICLE II. CONCERNING FREE WILL

I. Historical Introduction

1. Luther and Melanchthon

Luther had learned a great deal from Augustine, and had become a faithful pupil of that Church Father. In adopting from him the doctrine of original sin and the corruption of human nature, he also took over Augustine's doctrine of absolute predestination. It is a question about which historians (both old and new) do not agree as to how far Augustine's predestinarian views were accepted by Luther. Melanchthon was more outspoken in his first edition of the *Loci* (1521); he plainly declared that everything occurs by necessity; that the sin of Saul, as well as the conversion of David, was caused by God. The strongest expressions of Luther occur in his *De servo arbitrio*. In the controversy concerning the word and sacraments with the enthusiasts and sacramentarians, Luther became clear as to the importance of the means of grace for the believer. He emphasizes the sole efficacy of grace, but finds the cause of unbelief and damnation merely in the self-hardening of the human heart against these means through which God works.

Melanchthon at the same time began to emphasize the universal promises of the Scripture; he emphatically denies the freedom of the natural will to produce ethical good works, but rejects the absolute predestination of Augustine. He emphasizes the fact

that predestination does not contradict the universal promises, but does not define the relation between the two. His great esteem of the old teachers of the Church induces him to adopt their terminology as much as possible. At the same time he rejects the assertions of Schwenkfeld and other enthusiasts; likewise he rejects the deterministic statements of Flacius. All these factors must be kept in view in considering the doctrine of Melanchthon. He confesses to his end in the most emphatic terms the sole efficacy of divine grace; he rejects expressly the synergistic interpretation given to his words used in the *Variata*.

2. DID MELANCHTHON TEACH SYNERGISM?

In considering this historical question one must not forget the fact that Melanchthon, in the later part of his life, used the terms *regeneratio* and *conversio* in a different sense from his previous usage. He had defined *conversio* in former years as *contritio et fides* (see Apology, Art. 12). This would include the work of God up to the moment of justification. But he changed this definition in the last period, and interpreted the same terms as *contritio, fides et bona opera.* By doing so he included the whole Christian life under the term *conversio,* approaching thereby the Roman terminology. It is in this last period that he used the expression that three causes (factors?) concur in conversion (*concurrunt tres causae in conversione, etc.*). Chemnitz, who surely was capable of passing upon this question, does not hold him guilty of having taught synergism, but accuses him of using ambiguous terms.

Hence it is difficult to answer the above question

concerning Melanchthon's view. As he himself expressly states, he had abandoned absolute predestination. We, therefore, leave this historical question undecided whether he really went to the other extreme and adopted synergism. It certainly has not been established beyond reasonable doubt.

3. THE SYNERGISTS

But there can be no question that the pupils of Melanchthon, even during his lifetime, defended the ambiguous phrases of their teacher, and openly adopted synergism as their doctrine. Pfeffinger (Leipzig), in a disputation, plainly asserts that there are three efficient causes (*tres causae agentes*); the third of these is said to be the will of man which does not resist but adapts itself to the working of the spirit.[1] He states that there must be within us some cause, why some assent, whilst others do not assent.

4. THE SYNERGISTIC CONTROVERSY

The statements of the synergists were soon challenged by the Gnesio-Lutherans (Amsdorf, Flacius, Stoltz). In the Weimar Confutation of 1559 the sixth article[2] condemned the synergists for teaching that the

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[1] *Voluntas non repugnans, sed utcunque jam moventi spiritui sancto obtemperans.*

Sequitur ergo in nobis aliquam causam esse, cur alii assentiantur, alii non assentiantur. Melanchthon had said, *recipiantur . . . abjiciantur.*

[2] *Qui argute philosophantur, mentem et voluntatem hominis in conversione esse synergon, seu causam concurrentem et cooperantem.*

mind and will of man in conversion co-operates, and is a concurrent cause. But a difference soon showed itself among the Jena theologians: Victorin Strigel refused to accept this condemnation. The Duke of Saxony arranged the Weimar Colloquy (August 2-8, 1560). Here Strigel most emphatically formulated and defended his synergistic views. Flacius and his associates, Musaeus, Wigand and Judex, opposed him. They—champions of congregationalism—soon fell into disfavor with the duke, because they denied his right to dictate to the Church and to change the organization (he appointed a consistory which should decide all controversies). They were dismissed from their offices. Strigel gave an explanation which mollified his asertions and was reinstated. Stoessel composed a similar confessional statement in which he tried to end the matter by ambiguous declarations; many ministers preferred leaving the country to signing the document. A change soon came through the imprisonment of John Frederick the Second (on account of complicity in the Grumbach affairs), and John William recalled the Gnesio-Lutherans (Wigand, Coelestin, Heshusius, Kirchner, and others), with the exception of Flacius. Now the attacks upon the synergists were renewed.

Finally the Elector August proposed to settle this and other controversies by means of a colloquy. The offer was accepted. The colloquy of Altenburg was unique in its method; all negotiations were carried on in writing. No wonder that it dragged on from October, 1568, to March, 1569, and finally was discontinued by the Philippists.

5. THE DECISION OF THE FORM OF CONCORD

As in other matters, the statement of the question (*status controversiae*) is of prime importance. By clearly defining the question, the solution of the difficulty was made possible. "Conversion" is here understood as the "repentance wrought solely by God in the unconverted." It is taken to include contrition and faith. The question is then considered: Does the natural man contribute anything whatever to the contrition and faith that rise in his heart? The ethical or psychological process of conversion is not the topic under discussion, but merely the question: Whence this change? How much, if any, must be ascribed to the natural man? How much must be ascribed to the Holy Spirit? All this must be kept in view in order to understand this article.

II. History of the Text

The article as drafted by Andreae was very plain and simple. It was composed of a number of statements in which the essential points were brought out. Chemnitz made many additions to the text, but adopted the statements of Andreae as a whole (see below). The text, as laid by Chemnitz before the Lower Saxons, did not fully satisfy them. They desired that this article should be revised very carefully. They referred it to the conferences held in the various cities for discussion; these conferences should then submit their criticisms and proposals to the faculty at Rostock. A number of documents were mentioned which should be taken into consideration in revising the article, such as Chemnitz, Enchiridion and Judi-

cium, and a disputation held at Rostock in March, 1572.[1]

Chytraeus, the leading theologian at Rostock, abandoned the draft of Andreae revised by Chemnitz, and composed an entirely new article, which he substituted. Only a few fragments of the previous draft were taken over by him. Chytraeus was rather voluminous in his presentations. In fact, his article was very, very long. The universal complaint was: it is altogether too long. For this reason the whole first three parts of the article were condensed at Torgau into a few paragraphs. It is to such changes that he refers when he complains in his letters that "everything" he wrote was cast out. However nothing essential was expunged; only non-essential parts were omitted.

In the opinions submitted at Bergen scarcely any other article was discussed as much as this article. It was very carefuly considered, and important changes were made. The criticisms of the Wuertemberg theologians were most practical, since they always presented a better formulation of the passages which they criticised.

III. The Composition of the Present Article[2]

The article as it stands now originates from:

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[1] The disputation has not yet been examined or published. It would be highly instructive to know at least the theses, and, if possible, the declarations of this disputation.

[2] THE DRAFT OF ANDREAE

I

1. Statement of the question: the synergistic view; the correct doctrine.

1-7a (—"working anything"), Bergen; 7b-15, Chytraeus; 16 (except last sentence, Bergen, upon motion of Wuertemberg); 17-27, Chytraeus; 28-45, Maulbrunn Formula, inserted at Torgau; 46-55a, Chy-

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2. To decide this controversy the various conditions of man must be considered:

(*a*) Before the fall man was perfect in his will and acts.

(*b*) Through the fall he has lost his perfection, and is without power, and is at enmity with God. Hence he disobeys, and even opposes God. Now his natural will is free only for evil; in external acts he is, to some extent, free to do the acts of the natural law; but in spiritual things he can do absolutely nothing.

(*c*) In the word of grace the Holy Spirit is present. working true conversion; thus new life begins. Yet the old nature remains. Hence the continuous strife between the old man and the new will.

(*d*) After man's resurrection his will is free and he is perfect.

II

1. In the second state, before his conversion, man has lost all power to will and to do good; his will is turned away from God.

2. It is God who changes man's will; not forcibly, but through the law and gospel as the two means of conversion.

3. This work of conversion is in no way our work, but wholly God's work.

4. By this doctrine we exclude despair (coming from absolute predestination) and epicurism (waiting for forcible conversion). God desires to save all; hence all should hear the word, and the preachers should depend upon God's promise.

5. Those who despise the word thereby prevent their conversion.

traeus; 55b, "but should be certain . . . give," written by Andreae; 56, addition of Chemnitz to the draft of Andreae; 57-58, Andreae; 59-64, Bergen (substituted for a similar passage by Chytraeus); 65, Chytraeus;

III

Antithesis: 1. Against Synergism. 2. Against Enthusiasm.

THE FIRST PART OF CHYTRAEUS'S ARTICLE
(for which Nos. 1-7a were substituted)

The real question is: Since man is not a stone, etc., but is free in external affairs, whether he has the capability also in conversion, to know God correctly, to understand and accept the gospel, and to convert himself.

By emphasizing total depravity a controversy was occasioned concerning this question: When the Holy Spirit calls a sinner, has the sinner so much power remaining within him that he can follow, can convert himself or can co-operate, can give assent, etc.?

It is very important to show, from the word of God, how and whence this power comes to man. This article, therefore, is closely related to other articles, *e.g.,* those relating to the state of innocence, of original sin, redemption, the causes of conversion, justification, and the application of grace, the law and true obedience, external discipline, new obedience, the difference between external and internal righteousness.

In order to defend this doctrine against the Pelagians we will discuss: 1. What is free will? 2. What can free will do by its own natural power after the fall? 3. What cannot free will do by its own power? (cf. 7b-27). 4. How is man converted by the Holy Spirit? (cf. 46-64). 5. Of the co-operation of the liberated will (cf. 65-72). 6. Antitheses and explanation of various phrases (cf. 73-90).[1]

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[1] This disposition is explicitly formulated, and is of the greatest importance in studying our article.

66, Bergen (substituted for a similar statement by Chytraeus); 67, Chytraeus; 68, Bergen (for passage by Chytraeus); 69-72, Chemnitz (in revising Andreae's draft); 73-85, Chytraeus (with numerous changes made at Torgau and Bergen); 86-88, Bergen (substitution for shorter statement by Chytraeus); 89,

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I. WHAT IS FREE WILL?

Free will designates the intellect, heart and will, with all the psychical powers within man. Here two questions are often confounded: 1. Has man a free will? 2. What can free will do? Here the four conditions of man must be considered.

The question arises: In what particulars can man do something? In what can he not?

1. Before the fall man had the true knowledge of God, and was righteous in his will. He obeyed without reluctance, and could choose good or evil.

2. After the fall he lost this power, and now lives in sin. This is expressed by such terms as, the natural or old man, flesh, human heart, free will, carnal inclinations, etc. This is man as he is born with his natural reason and will.

II. WHAT CAN FREE WILL DO BY ITS NATURAL POWER AFTER THE FALL?

In this state man has, to some extent, the capacity to produce works of external honesty (compare the lives of the Pharisees); but this is not righteousness before God. The civil government may and shall forbid gross sins.

Man's freedom and power are hindered: 1. By original sin; 2. By evil enticement from without; 3. By the deception of the devil.

But man may resist, to some extent, and may produce external honorable works, in some measure.

III. WHAT CANNOT FREE WILL DO BY ITS OWN POWER?

Our eyes can see in bright sunlight the things close at

Chytraeus (a free translation of a Latin passage added by Chemnitz); 90, Bergen (substitute for long passage by Chytraeus).

IV. Contents of the Article Itself

1. The Controversy

1. Where is the controversy?

Distinguishing four states of man the controversy concerning "free will" is—not concerning man's condition before the fall or since the fall in external things, or after regeneration, or after resurrection; but concerning man's condition since the fall in spiritual things.

2. What is it?

Some say: Man can assent to a certain extent (synergists).

Some say: Man is converted forcibly without means (enthusiasts).

The teachers of the Augsburg Confession say: Man is by nature blind (*sine*), an enemy of God (*cum*), until God converts him through the Word.

II. The Affirmative Statement

1. A brief synopsis (6-7)

1. Man can do nothing at all towards his conversion—*sine*.

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hand; but if we look directly at the sun, we are blinded. Similarly man can do external works to some extent; but by his own power he can do nothing in real spiritual matters, such as acquiring liberation from sin and eternal death, true righteousness and holiness, etc.

In these matters the natural man cannot understand anything correctly, cannot believe, etc., but is entirely corrupt and unable to do good (see continuation in 7b).

2. Man is a slave of sin, and active only in things contrary to God—*cum.*

2. DETAILED PROOF FOR THESE STATEMENTS

(A) What can man's natural "free will" contribute towards his conversion (*Ante conversionem*).

1. He can contribute nothing in spiritual matters, according to the Scriptures (*sine*).
   - (*a*) General description: blind, receiveth not, foolish, heareth not, etc. 9-11.
   - (*b*) Specific statements: cannot think, comprehendeth not, etc. 12-14.
   - (*c*) Even after conversion he can do little; what, then, before? 15-16.

2. He is against God, perverted to every evil (*cum*).
   - (*a*) Assertions of Scriptures. 17-18.
   - (*b*) He is compared to a hard stone, *i.e.*, he can contribute as little as a stone—nothing. 19-24.

3. Conversion, when it occurs, is assigned exclusively to God.
   - (*a*) This is the doctrine of the Scriptures in many passages, 26, and of Augustine. 27.
   - (*b*) It is the doctrine of the Lutheran Symbolical Books. 28-44.

Conclusion: The doctrine of co-operation is an error. 45.

(B) How does God convert man? (*In conversione*).

The manner and process of conversion must be explained in order to refute the enthusiasts and to give consolation to desponding hearts. 46-47.

We must observe: (1) Through what means (Word and sacraments) man is converted; (2) How he should act towards these means. 48.

1. HOW CONVERSION IS BROUGHT ABOUT

(*a*) We must start our observation from the universal plan of salvation. 49.

(*b*) We know that the Word is God's medium for working contrition and faith. 50.

(*c*) The external use of these means is necessary and possible for every sinner. 53-54.

(*d*) Through these means God works: (*a*) Contrition through the law, breaking the heart, etc. (*b*) Faith through the gospel—drawing, etc. 54.

(*e*) This must be accepted upon God's assertion, not because we see, notice or feel it. 55-56.

2. HOW CONVERSION IS PREVENTED

(*a*) By refusing to hear the Word and despising it. 57-58.

A stone cannot do this, but man can prevent God's work, 59, even though he cannot contribute in the least. 59a.

(*b*) For God does not compel those who harden their hearts, though His working is a divine power. 60.

(*c*) The manner of working (*modus agendi*) is that adapted to rational beings. Even after conversion God does not force man to do good. 61-64.

(C) What can man do after conversion? (*Post conversionem*).

1. After conversion man can co-operate. 65-66.

2. But the will is still weak during this life. 67-69.
   (*a*) For in conversion a change is effected through contrition and faith, so that now good works are brought forth. 70.
   (*b*) But the question is: Whence come these powers? Answer: They are not man's own, but are wrought by God. 71-72.

3. ANTITHESES

The intricate questions respecting this doctrine can be answered from the above clear statements. We reject the following errors:

1. The Stoic and Manichaean views of fatal necessity. 74.
2. The various shades of Pelagianism. 75-79.
3. The views of the Enthusiasts. 80-85.

4. CRITICISM OF VARIOUS STATEMENTS

1. Certain expressions of Basil and Chrysostom were used in a synergistic sense, and must be rejected; for God is the sole author of conversion, in the manner defined above. 86-88.

2. Luther's expression, pure passive, does not mean that no new emotions are aroused, but that man is simply *subjectum patiens*. 89.

3. The phrase of the "three causes" perplexed, especially, the students. It was shown above that there are only two causes (Spirit, Word). Man's will is no cause, but the object (that which is to be converted) and merely suffers God to work in him (passively). 90.

ARTICLE III. CONCERNING JUSTIFICATION

I. Historical Introduction

A controversy was occasioned by Andreas Osiander. He was one of the leading Lutheran ministers of Nurnberg (1522 and later). During the diet of 1523, held in this city, the Master of the Prussian Knights, Albert of Brandenburg (who at that time tried in vain to enlist the interest of Germany against Poland, which claimed supremacy over the territory governed by the Knights) attended Osiander's services at St. Sebaldus, the beautiful church of Nurnberg. He was won for the cause of the gospel. At the advice of Luther he secularized the territory, and submitted to the king of Poland, receiving his dignity as Duke of Prussia from him. Osiander had been one of the leading co-laborers of Luther; he represented Nurnberg at Marburg, Augsburg and Smalcald.

When, in 1548, the Augsburg *Interim* was forced upon the southern cities, he protested against its adoption by the city council, and, therefore, had to leave the service and territory of the city. His spiritual son, Duke Albert, offered him the position of superintendent and professor at Koenigsberg, with double salary (1549). Osiander had never taken any academic degrees. This, and the especial favor shown him, as well as his overbearing manners, soon produced strained relations in the theological faculty. When, therefore, Osiander proposed his peculiar

construction of the doctrine of justification, a controversy at once broke out. Osiander found very few adherents. Professors Hegemon, Isinder and Lauterwald opposed his views, as did Martin Chemnitz (at that time librarian of the duke), Moerlin and Aurifaber. Pamphlets were issued by both sides. In order to settle the matter, the duke asked other prominent theologians, especially Melanchthon, Flacius and Brenz, for their opinions. All, with the exception of Brenz, who took a milder view, declared that Osiander had abandoned the doctrine of Luther. Osiander died October 17, 1552. His son-in-law, Funk, represented his side; but he meddled in politics, was accused of high treason and was executed.

Osiander's doctrine was a reminiscence of medieval mysticism, which sought immediate intercourse with God through feeling. Osiander approached these views without adopting them.

Osiander's Construction. According to Osiander, Christ is the personified righteousness of the divine essence. He was destined to live in man, and would have become God-incarnate even if man had not fallen. He atoned for the sin of the world. Through faith He comes into the human heart as His habitation. Thereby He works our justification; for as the starlight disappears before the bright rays of the sun, so sin disappears before the superabundance of the divine righteousness inhabitating the heart. On the other hand, this personified righteousness impels and produces within man the will to do works of righteousness. Hence "justification" is the change of life through

the inhabitation of Christ. Osiander does not directly deny the judicial act described by the Scriptures as justification; but it is of no great importance for him. He does not reject the obedience of Christ and atonement; but they are insignificant when compared with the indwelling of Christ. For Osiander "justification" is not a divine act of one moment, but a gradual process. In other terms, Osiander confounded justification and sanctification. His error does not consist in the individual assertions, which are in the main correct, but in his theological construction and combination. An unruly spirit, Stancarus, on the other hand, made the statement that only Christ's righteousness as man is attributed to the believer.

The Importance of the Controversy. The significance of the Osiandristic controversy was that it induced the theologians to study the question of the relation of conversion, justification and sanctification. They now had to define the limitations of these terms and the distinctions between them. In doing so they returned to the exact terminology of the Scriptures, whereas they had formerly used some of these terms in a narrower and wider sense.

II. History of the Text

The framework of this article is the draft furnished by Andreae. Additions were made to this at almost every succeeding revision. There were almost no eliminations.

The text before us comes from the following sources: Nos. 1-2, Andreae; 3-4, Torgau; 5-7, additions of Chemnitz (quotation from Luther in No. 6 was added

at Bergen); 8-9, Andreae's work revised by insertion of terms; 10-14, Chytraeus; 15, Bergen; 16, Chemnitz; 17, Andreae; 18-19, Torgau; 20-21, Bergen; 22, based upon Andreae, but largely revised by Chemnitz, at Torgau and by Chytraeus; 23a, Chemnitz; 23b-25, Chytraeus; 26-27, Chytraeus (quotation from Luther added at Bergen); 30, Chemnitz (last sentence by Andreae); 31, Chytraeus; 32-41, Chemnitz (with various later changes); 34-35, Andreae; 42-43, Chytraeus (with revision at Bergen); 45-53, Chemnitz (translations added at Torgau); 54-66, Andreae, with later additions; 67, Torgau.

III. Contents of the Article

1. The Controversy

Some (especially Osiander): The righteousness of faith is the personal righteousness of the second person of the Trinity; we receive this through the personal inhabitation; by means of which all human sin vanishes from sight. 1-2.

Others (Stancarus): Christ is our righteousness only according to His human nature. 3.

The Augsburg Confession: Christ is our righteousness as the God-man. Justification consists in forgiveness of sin, imputation of Christ's righteousness, and acceptance as God's children for the sake of Christ, whom we receive through faith. 4.

Note: Besides this controversy, the Interim has also produced errors (see antitheses, 49-53). 5.

Note: This is the fundamental article of Christendom, and must be retained in its purity. 6-7.

2. STATEMENT OF THE CORRECT DOCTRINE

1. A short restatement of the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession.

(*a*) A sinner is justified (*i.e.*, receives forgiveness, is accepted as God's child) without any previous or subsequent merit, exclusively out of pure grace, because of the sole merit of Christ, accepted through faith, which is produced by the gospel. 9-12.

(*b*) Faith justifies, not because it is a good work, but solely because it accepts the merit of Christ. 13-15.

(*c*) This application comes through the gospel and the sacraments. 16.

The term "justify."

(*a*) It means here: "to absolve for the sake of Christ." 17.

(*b*) Sometimes other terms are used instead of justify." 18.

(1) "Regenerate" is used sometimes to designate "justification" and "sanctification" taken as a unit.

(2) "Regenerate is also used as a synonym for "justify" (thus in the Apology). 20a.

(3) "Vivify" is also used in the sense of "justify." 20b.

(4) "Regenerate" is sometimes used exclusively for "sanctification." 21.

3. Justification in its relation to contrition and good works (justification, conversion and sanctification).

(*a*) Regeneration and justification do not imply that we have no more sin, but that sin is covered, and that we are accounted pure before God. 22.

(*b*) It does not imply that we may continue in sin, but true contrition precedes, and good works follow. 22-53.

(1) Contrition precedes; the contrite are adopted and receive the Holy Spirit.

(2) Good works are produced, though they remain imperfect.

(3) But contrition and good works must not be identified with justification.

(4) Hence there is true consolation, and all glory is given to God.

3. CONCERNING INHABITATION

It is true that the Holy Trinity dwells in the Christian heart; but this inhabitation is not the righteousness of God on account of which we are justified; for it follows after the gracious forgiveness and adoption. 54.

How is Christ our Righteousness?

1. Not on account of only one or the other nature; but on account of the entire Christ. 55.

(*a*) As merely man His righteousness would not help us. 56.

(*b*) Neither would the divine nature alone help us. 56.

(*c*) But the whole Christ, the God-man, is our righteousness. 56.

2. As Christ's righteousness and atonement are perfect, faith relies upon it. 57. Thus neither the divine nor the human nature in itself is imputed, but only the obedience of the God-man. 58.

4. ANTITHESES. 59-66

We reject the following errors:

1. That the divine nature alone justifies us.
2. That the human nature alone justifies us.
3. That in the Scriptures the word "justify" does not designate a declarative act, but means "to make righteous by the infusion of love," etc.
4. That we are justified by the inhabitation.
5. That faith may be in a man who has no repentance and persists in sin.
6. That not God, but only His gifts, dwell in the believer.

Conclusion: The best detailed statement of the doctrine of justification is to be found in Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. 67.

ARTICLE IV. CONCERNING GOOD WORKS

I. Historical Introduction

George Major (born 1502) was educated at Wittenberg, and at first taught at the Magdeburg and Eisenach High Schools. He was called as pastor and professor to Wittenberg in 1536, and remained there (with a short intermission) until his death in 1574. He took part in the negotiations which produced the Leipzig Interim. He openly defended the course of the Saxon theologians, and assumed the responsibility for the statement contained in this Interim: "Good works are necessary unto salvation." The statement of the Interim is: "As now this true knowledge (faith) must shine in us, so it is assuredly true that these virtues, faith, love, hope, and others, must be within us, and are necessary unto salvation."

When Flacius and Amsdorf attacked this sentence, Major defended it, declaring: "But this I do confess, that I have taught before this, and do teach yet, and intend to teach all the days of my life, that good works are necessary to salvation. And I declare openly and with clear and explicit words that nobody ever is saved without good works, and I further say, whosoever teaches otherwise (even an angel from heaven) shall be accursed."

When he was called in 1552 as superintendent of the Mansfeld churches to Eisleben, Amsdorf, Wigand and Flacius challenged his declaration. He now de-

clared that in this sentence he spoke against those who made faith the cloak for evil works. He did not mean to say that the good works earn or deserve salvation, or were the righteousness before God, or formed a part of the same. He meant that they are the fruit and consequence which must follow faith, and that Christ works within the believers a new life. He repeatedly declared that he abandoned the sentence; so in 1559, 1567 and 1570. But he was considered as the exponent of this error until his end.

In 1554 Justus Menius, superintendent in Gotha, refused to sign a declaration in which the books of Major were denounced, because he had not read them. He imagined that the sentence probably was meant in a better sense. The result was that he himself had to give a statement in regard to his own conviction at a convention at Eisenach in 1554. He rejected the statement *in foro justificationis,* but considered it correct *in foro legis.* He considered it advisable not to use this expression in any connection, since it might be misunderstood. But at the same time he emphasized the fact that man must be diligent in good works after justification. This declaration was satisfactory to most Gnesio-Lutherans. But Amsdorf retained his suspicions that Menius secretly retained the error of Major. In consequence of this, Menius, in 1556, removed to Leipzig, where he died two years later.

Amsdorf, in his opposition to Menius, formulated the statement: "Good works are detrimental unto salvation." But the old man was treated very leniently by his associates, since it was apparent that he did not really mean what he said. It was clear that he meant

to say: If anyone relies on his good works, then he loses salvation.[1]

The Form of Concord very correctly points out the fact that at first there was a mere wrangling for words and phrases, but that later on the ambiguous phrase was defended in a wrong sense. The words "necessity" and "salvation" could be used in more than one sense.

II. History of the Text

In this article Chemnitz abandoned the draft of Andreae after Nr. 9. He substituted a delineation of his own.

1, Andreae, amended at Bergen; 2-3, Chemnitz; 4-5, Torgau; 6, Andreae; 7-8a, Chemnitz (in 8, first sentence); 8b-9, Andreae; 10-12, Bergen; 13-28, Chemnitz, with later minor changes; 29, Chytraeus; 30, Chemnitz; 31-33, Chytraeus; 34-35, Chemnitz, revised by Chytraeus; 36, Torgau; 37-40, Chemnitz, with Torgau amendments.

III. Contents of the Article

1. The Controversy

Various assertions: "Good works are necessary for salvation." 1.

Orthodox doctrine: "Good works are necessary, but not for salvation." 2.

[1] The bitterness of that time is illustrated by the following occurrence. Shortly before Amsdorf died he received the visit of his former associate and friend, Major, and the two conversed for a short time, as much as you can converse with a person almost entirely deaf (Amsdorf). Some thereafter had suspicions for this reason that he inclined towards Majorism.

Others said: "Good works are injurious;" others: "They are voluntary." 3-5.

2. AFFIRMATIVE EXPLANATION

1. There is no controversy on several points. 7-9.
   (*a*) It is God's will that good works should be done by believers.
   (*b*) These are not works of man's choice, but works commanded by God.
   (*c*) These can be done only after conversion.
   (*d*) They are acceptable to God (though imperfect), since the person is accepted. Whilst merely external works are good before the world, they are yet sinful before God.
   (*e*) They must be the fruits of faith. 9-12.

2. The controversy concerning "necessity" and "freedom."
   (*a*) The Apology and the Augsburg Confession often state that good works are necessary; also the Scriptures say the same. They show what is God's command and order. 14.
      (1) It is incorrect to condemn this.
      (2) Thereby merely Epicurean ideas of a dead faith, which produces no fruits or bad fruits, are rejected. 15.
      (3) This is the *necessitas mandati non coactionis,* that is, of command, not coercion. 16-17.
      In this sense good works are "free" or "voluntary," since they are done willingly, but not arbitrarily. 17-21.

(*b*) Good works do not acquire salvation for us.

(1) Works must not be introduced into the doctrine of justification. This would be against the exclusive particles ("alone," "only"), and would overthrow the certainty of salvation. 23.

(2) It would be against the doctrine of St. Paul and the Augsburg Confession. Hence Luther correctly rejected similar propositions. 24-28. And hence such phrases also now must be rejected. 29.

(*c*) Good works do not retain salvation.

(1) It is false to teach that salvation cannot be lost by willful sins. 31-33.

(2) It is not true that faith makes the beginning of salvation and works continue it; this is done exclusively by faith. 34. Hence the Tridentine and similar declarations must be condemned, viz., that our works support salvation, or do so in part. 35.

Before the controversy some spoke carelessly; but we should retain the "form of sound words."

3. Are good works injurious to salvation?

(1) If one trusts in works, they are detrimental; but it is not the works, but his trusting which harms. 37.

(2) Yet such phrases are misleading, as God demands and the Holy Spirit produces works in the believers, works acceptable to God. 38-40.

ARTICLES V AND VI. CONCERNING THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL

The Antinomistic Controversies

John Agricola (Schneider), born 1492 (or 1496), at Eisleben, had begun his studies at Leipzig, but was attracted by Luther, and finished his studies (1516-19) at Wittenberg. Being an intimate friend of Melanchthon he took his theological degree with the young professor of Greek September 15, 1519. In 1525 he accepted the position of instructor in one of the schools of his home town, hoping to be recalled to Wittenberg when a new professorship of theology would be created. But Melanchthon was promoted to this position in 1526, arousing the envy of Agricola.

In 1527 Melanchthon wrote the instructions for the visitation of the Saxon churches. These were a short presentation of the Lutheran doctrine and instructions to the priests for preaching and directing the people. Agricola took exception to the statement contained in these instructions that the ministers should also preach the law in order to bring people to repentance. Agricola's opinion was that repentance is produced not by the law, but by the gospel. Luther mediated between the two, and the matter was dropped. But in a catechism which Agricola published soon afterwards he again presented his view: The Old Testament is an ineffectual endeavor of God to lead men by means of threats. Repentance is produced by the gospel and

faith. Luther declared: Previous to repentance there must certainly be "general faith" (accepting the existence of God), but justifying faith accepts the grace of God under the terrors of conscience produced by the law.

The First Antinomistic Controversy. In 1536 Luther succeeded in having Agricola called to Wittenberg as professor of theology. But rumor soon reached Luther that Agricola was privately circulating theses in which he proposed peculiar statements concerning repentance, which were directed against Luther's teaching. Similar statements were published in other cities (Saalfeld, Frankfurt, Brandenburg, Freiburg). Luther privately called Agricola to account, but received satisfactory assurances. But soon Luther heard that Agricola was about to publish secretly a short explanation of the gospel pericopes; and in these he found the antinomistic views of Agricola.[1]

Luther now publicly discussed theses which Agricola had spread privately. When Agricola refused to take part in these discussions and to be instructed, he was suspended from office. This induced him to discuss the matter in private with Luther. He conceded that he had been wrong, and promised to confess in public. He did so at the next disputation. But before the whole matter had been settled he received a call as court preacher to Brandenburg, which call he accepted.

It was Agricola who accepted the appointment by

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[1] This induced Luther to make the short statement concerning "false brethren" in the Smalcald Articles. 4-7.

Emperor Charles to compose the Augsburg Interim, in which he claimed to have attained concessions from the Catholics which Luther could not attain. He imagined that through these articles the Roman Church would be speedily "reformed." He really never abandoned his antinomistic views, although he did not openly proclaim them.

The Second Antinomistic Controversy. The negotiations with Menius (see Art. 4) produced a second antinomistic controversy. Andreas Poach, of Jena, and Anton Otto stood on the side of Amsdorf and opposed the teaching of the law as directive for the good works of the Christians. Statements as these were made: "The best art of the Christians is to know nothing of the law," "Evangelical preachers must preach the gospel and no law," "Law, good works, new obedience do not belong to the kingdom of God, but to the world, to Moses and the dominion of the pope," and other similar statements.

Against these antinomistic tendencies of their associates the other leaders of the Gnesio-Lutherans took issue (especially Flacius, Moerlin, Wigand, Westphal). They declared: The law of God has a threefold duty: 1. To produce outward righteousness among the ungodly through threats and promises (*usus legis politicus*). 2. To produce contrition in the heart of the sinner, so that in the terrors of conscience he will accept the grace of God offered to him in Christ (*usus legis paedagogicus*). 3. The *usus legis didacticus:* After the sinner has been converted and has been made a child of God the law serves him as a guide and canon in the service of God.

The antinomistic teachers denied that this knowledge was to be gained from the law. They claimed: This is taught by the gospel, not by the law. The new works must come voluntarily and must be produced by the gospel.

The Third Controversy. A similar position was held by the later Philippists. Melanchthon had very often used the term "gospel" instead of the term "word of God" (of which the gospel is the most important part). Thus he had stated in the *Variata:* The ministry of teaching the gospel, which preaches repentance and forgiveness of sins.[1] This statement was understood and defended by Pezel and others in its literal sense, and they contended that "the gospel is the preaching of repentance." Judex, Wigand and Stoessel wrote pamphlets against this confusion of law and gospel.

The Decision of the Form of Concord. Article V of the Form of Concord solves the difficulty by defining the terms "repentance" and "gospel." Art. VI shows the work of the law after conversion.

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[1] *Ministerium docendi evangelium, quod praedicat poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum.*

ARTICLE V. CONCERNING THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL

I. History of the Text

This article presents in 1-9 the text of Andreae, with minor changes by Chemnitz and Chytraeus, and two minor additions at Bergen. 10-11 is an addition made at Torgau preceding the Maulbrunn Form in 12. 13 was added at Bergen. 14-15 was composed by Chytraeus. 16-27 is the continuation of Andreae's text into which 18 and 19 were inserted by Chemnitz. The last sentence in 19 and 22 is an addition made at Bergen. Minor changes (almost entirely additional text) were made by Chemnitz. The last sentences in 27 were written by Chytraeus.

II. Contents of the Article

I. The Controversy

Some: The gospel is not only the preaching of grace, but also the preaching of repentance.

Others: The gospel is not the preaching of repentance (the law), but only of the grace and favor of God for Christ's sake. 1-2.

II. Preliminary Remarks

This controversy arises from the fact that the terms "gospel" and "repentance" are used in a wider and narrower sense.

1. In a wider sense "gospel" means the Word of God as preached in the New Testament. 4-5. In a narrower sense (the proper one) it means: the blessed message of God's grace. 6.

2. In a wider sense "repentance" means the whole conversion, viz., contrition and faith. 7. In a narrower sense it means only contrition. Christ must preach the law to the sinner, 10-11a, before He can bring the gospel. 11b. They must be treated together. 12-15.

III. Affirmative Statement

1. The law, in its strict sense, is the divine revelation of God's will, wrath and punishment regarding sin. 17. It also condemns unbelief. 18-19.

2. The gospel, in its strict sense, is the divine revelation of God's grace in atonement, forgiveness and salvation. 20.

(*a*) Everything that comforts and offers grace is "gospel," and everything that threatens and condemns is "law." 21-22.

(*b*) These two were preached from the beginning and must be preached to the end. 23-26.

IV. Antithesis

We reject any construction which confuses the law and the gospel. 27.

ARTICLE VI. CONCERNING THE THIRD USE OF THE LAW

1. History of the Text

Here 2-14 present the text of Andreae, with minor phraseological additions by Chemnitz and Chytraeus. 1 is substituted for a shorter form of Andreae; this was done at Torgau. 10, 11a and 12a were inserted by Chytraeus. 15-19 are additions of Torgau. 19, 23-26 are by Andreae. 21 is by Andreae amplified by Chytraeus, who also inserted 22.

2. Contents of the Article

I. The Controversy

Some say: The law must not be preached to Christians, as they fulfill the will of God as they are impelled by the Holy Spirit. 1-2.

Others say: The law must be preached to Christians so that they may serve God, not by works of their own choice, but by works which He demands from them. 3.

II. Affirmative Statement

1. The law is indispensable for holiness of life.
   (*a*) Christians, being freed from the curse of the law, should learn from the law how to serve God. 4-5.
   (*b*) If they were absolutely renewed, they would

not need the law, 6, but since renewal has only begun, and they still have the old Adam, they need also the law and its instruction, warning and punishment. 7-9.

2. Distinction between the works of the law and the fruits of the Spirit:
   (*a*) The law demands newness of life, but gives no power to produce it. 11.
   (*b*) The gospel brings the Holy Spirit, and renews men's hearts, instructs them through the law, admonishes, and, if they sin, punishes them. 12-14.
   (*c*) The unregenerate can produce only the works of servants, while the regenerate, as children of grace, produce works as fruits of the Spirit. 15-17.
   (*d*) Christians, having both the old and the new man, experience the strife between them. 18-19.
3. The necessity of the law for the believers.
   (*a*) Lest they invent works of their own, they need the revelation through the law, as to what they should do. 20.
   (*b*) Lest they imagine that their obedience of the will of God is perfect, they need the law. 21.
   (*c*) Since these imperfect works come from a believing heart they are, as the gospel shows, acceptable to God as fruits of faith. 22.
   (*d*) In so far as they are regenerate, they do God's will willingly; in so far as they are

unregenerate, they do it under the compulsion of the law, until they reach perfection in the future life. 23-25.

III. Antithesis

We reject the doctrine that the law must be preached only to the unregenerate and not to Christians. 26.

ARTICLES VII AND VIII. CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER AND THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

Historical Introduction

I. THE POSITION OF MELANCHTHON

Dr. Frank says: "It may be confidently stated as a historical fact that Melanchthon never came to full clearness or lasting conviction in the conception of the dogma of the Lord's Supper—neither in the former nor in the latter period of his life." And this statement—endorsed also by Schmid in his excellent monograph on the controversies concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist—is correct. Melanchthon endeavored to formulate this doctrine as simply and as plainly as possible. And he did so in an ideal way in the Augsburg Confession. But he was always influenced in his view, to a large degree, by other scholars and formulated their productions. Hence it made a deep impression upon him when Œcolampadius (the Melanchthon of Zwingli) absolutely established the fact that many old teachers had taught similarly to Zwingli. What did Luther care for what scholars had said and taught in ancient times, when he had the clear word of God? But for Melanchthon the matter is of scholastic importance; for this reason he tries to produce formulas which make it possible also to retain the historical assertions of antiquity. For him it is not in the first place a matter of faith (being certain

from the Word of God), but of theological science. His scholastic inclination predisposes him to modify the ecclesiastical contradictions as much as possible.

His general tendency can be noticed, above all, in the doctrine concerning the sacrament. When he composed the Augsburg Confession, he still fully shared the position of Luther, and was merely the amanuensis or interpreter of the great Reformer. But the historical proof of Œcolampadius soon made a deep impression upon him, as stated above. Therefore he wavered, and was less confident in opposing the Reformed teachers. The historical facts can be briefly formulated in these statements:

1. Melanchthon changed his personal views concerning the Eucharist.
2. This change took place after 1530.
3. He never openly stated this fact.
4. He professed until the end of his life to believe the doctrine as confessed in Augsburg Confession of 1530, as well as that of the Smalcald Articles.

The modification which did take place, however, was not that he denied the fact of the real presence, or that he abandoned the doctrine of recognizing the true and essential presence of the body and blood of Christ, or that he abandoned the *manducatio indignorum*. But he preferred to go no further in presenting the doctrine than to state: "Christ is truly and substantially present" (1558), or, "He is truly and corporally present in the sacrament" (1560). He lays the main emphasis on the benefit and blessing of the sacrament, emphasizing the *manducatio spiritualis* more than the *manducatio oralis*.

Melanchthon to the end of his life was and remained as emphatic as Luther in rejecting the rationalistic conception of Zwingli; but when Calvin adopted as much of the true conception as was possible for him, without sacrificing his principal doctrine (predestination), he was willing to make peace with him. And his main endeavors during the time that he was at the head of the Lutheran forces were engaged in coining unionistic phrases which would be acceptable to both Luther and Calvin. He became the exponent of unionism.

2. THE REFORMED POSITION

The Reformed had come to an agreement acceptable both to the Calvinists and Zwinglians, in which the Zwinglians, to a large degree, sacrificed the views of the Reformer of Zuerich. The document dogmatizing this agreement was the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549. Here not only the view of Zwingli was expressed that bread and wine in the celebration of the Eucharist remind us of Christ's death and benefits, but also the deeper views of Calvin that they are signs and tokens of God for the believer. Christ in this ceremony communicates Himself to us as the true spiritual bread. Calvin even used the phrase that we partake of the body and blood of Christ; but this phrase expresses for him, not the real presence of the body and blood, but the fact that we are made participants of the benefits of Christ. In other words: A spiritual influence is exercised by the glorified Christ which is mediated through the Spirit of Christ and the faith of man. The body of Christ remains in heaven, is locally con-

fined to heaven to the day of judgment. The believer through faith rises to heaven and comes into communion with the glorified Saviour. Hence the doctrine of Calvin (dogmatized in this *Consensus Tigurinus*) is merely a modification of Zwingli's doctrine, and Luther's doctrine is rejected. The roots and foundations of this sacramental view lie in the last instance in the doctrine of predestination. For if God from eternity decreed to save only a chosen number of mankind, then the sacrament can in no way be the seal and token of salvation and an assurance of grace to all men through faith. God would lie to the individual if He would assure every communicant that Christ's body was broken and Christ's blood was shed for him, since only the chosen few have been ransomed and saved.

After establishing the Zwinglian-Calvinistic conception through the *Consensus Tigurinus,* the policy of the Reformed Church was to spread their dogma in Switzerland as well as outside of it. The Wittenberg Concord was thereby abolished. Even before the *Consensus Tigurinus* was printed, Calvin stated that he expected it would be beneficial also for the churches in the electorate of Saxony. A systematic propaganda was enacted. It was inevitable that the Lutheran Church must either surrender Luther's doctrine to Calvinism, or that a clash must take place.

3. THE WESTPHAL CONTROVERSY

The first one in the Lutheran camp to sound an alarm was Joachim Westphal, a prominent minister in Hamburg. In 1552 he proved from the official and

public writings of the Reformed theologians that they were united in denying the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood; that otherwise there were many differences among them. Reduced to plain facts, they denied the Real Presence no less emphatically than Zwingli had done. The only difference consisted in whether this view was plainly and frankly stated, or hidden behind words and phrases approaching the Lutheran terminology as much as possible.

The practical effect of this pamphlet was that a congregation of Reformed refugees was not permitted to locate in Denmark, Rostock, Wismar, Luebeck or Hamburg. Calvin himself now entered the arena and wrote three violent treatises.[1] The tenor of these treatises is exceedingly rude, overbearing and arrogant. Everyone knows that Luther not infrequently was rude and coarse; but Calvin here is insolent and boisterous. The replies of Westphal did not in every way go to the point, but, taken as a whole, they were moderate and exact, and in tone even modest. They at once proved that Luther's doctrine had not yet been abandoned in Germany, even if the leader (Melanchthon) did not defend it. From all sections of Germany assent was given to Westphal. The theologians of Wuertemberg (who had not taken sides in the other controversies) soon took sides with Westphal. Under the leadership of Brenz and young Andreae they declared (1557) for the unmodified doctrine of Luther. This chagrined Melanchthon, but he could merely at-

[1] A few samples of the tone and tenor: "This foolish, venerable doctor, who has issued an evil book." "Is he not like a mad dog?" "This master of confusion," etc.

tack the poor Latin in which Brenz had drawn up the statements.

4. THE BREMEN CONTROVERSY

From the Westphal phase another controversy originated in Bremen. Here Hardenberg had found a home in 1547. He came from the humanistic circles, had been influenced by John a Lasco, and had assisted Bucer (1544-1547) in Worms. He was requested in 1548 to define his view and to clear himself of suspicion, but had then succeeded in deceiving the city council by ambiguous phrases, approved by Melanchthon. His associate, Timann, in 1555, took sides with Westphal, and spoke of crafty men who thought un-Lutheran in Lutheran phrases. This induced Hardenberg to attack the doctrine of ubiquity. He published the alleged assertion of Luther that he had "done too much in the eucharistic controversy." Melanchthon was asked for information, but answered very indefinitely. But the theologians of Lower Saxony warned against the views of Hardenberg, and he left Bremen. Heshusius, the champion of Lutheranism just then expelled from Heidelberg, was called to Bremen. He arranged a colloquy with Hardenberg, who refused to take part. When he tried to evade the consultations with the theologians of the allied Lower Saxon cities, he was dismissed and had to leave Lower Saxony. Through a civil revolution in Bremen (1562), van Bueren was chosen burgomaster, and expelled the Lutheran clergy and filled the vacancies with Philippistic men. Finally these went over in a body to the Reformed Church.

5. THE CONTROVERSY IN THE PALATINATE

In the Palatinate the elector, Ottheinrich, had called Tileman Heshusius, in 1558, at the suggestion of Melanchthon. He considered it to be his especial duty to stem the Reformed influences which were gaining strength in that border state. He offended the common people by discontinuing the customs introduced by the Crypto-Calvinists, and by introducing Lutheran customs. He was also opposed by the Crypto-Calvinists holding positions at the University of Heidelberg. In 1559 Ottheinrich died. Scandalous clashes occurred.[1] The new elector deposed both Heshusius and Klebitz. Melanchthon advised him to prescribe indefinite formulas to both parties. Thus misled, the elector, who was inclining more and more towards the Reformed side, finally went over formally to the Reformed Church, and made Heidelberg a home of the Reformed in Germany. He also "reformed" the Lutheran Church by changing all Lutheran forms and substituting the new Heidelberg Catechism for Luther's Catechism. Thus, in 1566, immediately after the Naumburg Day, Palatia left the Lutheran ranks and joined the Reformed side.

6. THE CRISIS IN SAXONY

Elector August of Saxony, the brother and successor of Maurice, was a well-meaning man. He loved

[1] Heshusius refused to administer the sacrament with the assistance of the Crypto-Calvinist Klebitz; when Klebitz, nevertheless, came to the altar to administer the cup. he took it away from him. Klebitz, on his part, waylaid the superintendent before the church doors in order to wallop him.

his country, and did the best for its interests, so that he was generally known as "Father August." But he was no genius, neither as diplomat, nor as theologian. He meant well, much better than he acted. In the theological troubles of his time he hated with a bitter hatred Flacius and his party. For Flacius had brought into bad report, not only the great Melanchthon, but all Saxon theologians and his brother Maurice. August swore vengeance, and took it. The lifelong misery of poor Flacius, with his flock of children, is explained not to the least by the fact that whenever he had found a haven of rest, the diplomatic agents of August soon succeeded in driving him on. In the elector's eyes the greatest possible heresy for a Lutheran was to be a Flacianist.

Of one thing there can be no doubt: Elector August had the earnest desire to be a Lutheran. He did not dream of the possibility that there could be doctrinal differences between Melanchthon and Luther. Had not Melanchthon also declared—even shortly before his death—that he adhered to all the teachings of Luther? And no doubt this question was also discussed orally between them. The attack of the Flacianists on Melanchthon, therefore, also hit him personally. But the younger teachers, trained under Melanchthon, were accused already during the lifetime of their master of abandoning Luther's doctrine in several articles. The danger that such might really take place was greater after the old teacher's death; now they could draw the full conclusion from their preambles. Melanchthon died April 19, 1560. Already in December of that year August interviewed his theologians

in regard to the views on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Paul Eber, the successor of Bugenhagen, formulated it for the faculties of Wittenberg and Leipzig. This statement, which was to inform the elector whether they sided with Luther or Calvin, was intentionally misleading. It rejected the doctrine of Zwingli in unmistakable terms, and rejected those that denied that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the Eucharist. It asserted that the Flacianists attacked them because they refused to believe that the body of Christ is essentially present in the bread (impanation) and is received with the mouth even by the infidels. The elector did not know anything of the doctrinal difference between Zwingli and Calvin, and at that time the Calvinists were generally spoken of as "Zwinglians"; he did not know that Calvin tried to accommodate his expressions, as far as possible, to the terms of Luther; he did not know that Calvin also spoke of a real presence of Christ for the believer in the Eucharist. But these theologians knew the difference. And thus they knowingly, willingly, intentionally deceived the elector. In the hour of confession they acted as hyprocrites. Instead of confessing their convictions, they professed to teach the doctrine they had sworn to when they took their degrees and their orders.

And the longer they debated with their theological opponents, the more they besotted themselves with such conscious untruthfulness. For instance: In Transsylvania a controversy arose; there Crypto-Calvinists clashed with Lutherans. At a meeting at Medwish (January 10, 1560) each side presented a doctrinal statement to the prince, who was a Lutheran,

and would tolerate none but the Lutheran doctrine in his Lutheran territory. How could he find out whether the suspected party was really Lutheran? He turned to the university of Luther. And here again the universities of the largest Lutheran state knowingly dissimulated. They did not answer plainly and distinctly: Of the two statements presented to us, this is the Lutheran doctrine, and this is not. They formulated a statement of their own, which was so skillfully worded that even strict Lutherans were misled, and thought for once they outlined the Lutheran view. But a very close examination (in the light of similar statements) shows their deception. The University of Rostock alone gave a clear and correct answer.

Now, the charge made above that these professors of theology were hypocrites, and knowingly, willingly and intentionally misled the elector, is the most serious charge that can be raised. It implies that they were guilty of perjury. For these men were sworn when they took their degrees and when they were examined for ministry. We know the oath which they took; it had been formulated by Luther, Melanchthon and Jonas. It reads:

"I promise to the eternal God . . . that by the help of God I will faithfully serve the Church in teaching the gospel without any corruptions, and will steadfastly defend the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian symbols and will persevere in the consense of the doctrine which is comprehended in the Augsburg Confession, which has been presented to the emperor in the year 1530. And in case that difficult and obscure controversies should take place, I will not give

my opinion alone, but only after I have consulted with some older men who teach in the Church who retain the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession."[1]

This oath was also sworn by those who took degrees in philosophy, since they also lectured in theology. Melanchthon himself had defended this very same oath against Osiander with the argument that the Church must protect itself against the danger of teachers substituting new doctrines for those of the Church. It is Peucer (himself a leader of the "Philippists," or, rather, hypocritical Calvinists) who explicitly tells us that these men—including himself—knew at that time that they had abandoned the doctrine, which they had promised by oath to teach and to uphold. He narrates that (either 1561 or 1562—the date is not quite certain) Paul Eber came to him and asked him how he should act in the new interrogation which the elector demanded. Paul Eber then and there told Peucer that he believed the doctrine as taught by the "Swiss" (Calvin) was correct. Paul Crell told him the same thing. These theologians also knew—and that was why they asked the leader of their faction—that they would be deposed from their offices

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[1] *Ego promitto Deo aeterno . . . Deo adjuvante, fideliter serviturum esse ecclesiae in docendo evangelio sine ullis corruptelis et constanter defensurum esse Symbola Apostolicum, Nicaenum et Athanasium et persevaturum esse in consensu doctrinae comprehensae in C. A., quae per hanc ecclesiam exhibita esse imperatori anno 1530. Et cum incident controversiae difficiles et obscurae non pronuntiabo solus, sed re deliberata cum aliquibus senioribus, qui docent ecclesias retinentes doctrinam A. C.*

(and, perhaps, be punished more severely for their hypocrisy in the past) Peucer told them to confess their conviction. But they went to Dresden and again knowingly posed as Lutherans, when they knew that they were Calvinists in doctrine. These professors of theology were guilty of a crime which in theocratic Israel would have been punished by death.

Now, it is a fact well known that you may deceive some people all the time, and you may deceive all the people sometimes, but that you cannot deceive all the people all the time. These Crypto-Calvinists never succeeded in deceiving a man as acute and suspicious as Flacius. They succeeded in deceiving Andreae for some time, but not for all time, for he found them out as hypocrites at Zerbst and afterwards. Their hypocrisy became more and more apparent to the Lower Saxons and the suspicions of others. They succeeded in deceiving the elector so long that he became almost the laughing stock of his time. He was warned again and again not only by the Flacianists, but also by others who did not go with Flacius. But the deceivers finally unmasked themselves.

We will not go into detail of their duplicity.[1] They satisfied the elector of their "Lutheranism," and had contrived to get men of their stripe into the professorships: Pezel, Cruciger, Jr., and Widebram. They

[1] When a request similar to that of Transsylvania came from Hungary; in a treatise of 1563, by Paul Eber; in an opinion on the Heidelberg Catechism (because the Heidelberg Calvinists openly stated that the Saxon theologians taught as they did); on the statement of Brenz and Andreae in 1564.

succeeded in inducing August to make their *Corpus Philippicum* the official confession of Saxony (*Corpus Misnicum*). They had succeeded so well that they now felt safe in going a step further. So far their Calvinism had been taught only in the university halls; it was now to be introduced into the preparatory departments. In the high schools (*Gymnasien*) either Luther's Catechism (which was too easy) or Melanchthon's examination questions for candidates for the ministry (which were too difficult) had been used as text-books. Pezel wrote a new text-book (in many respects an excellent book for this purpose), *Catechesis Witebergensis* (1571). Here the distinctively Lutheran doctrines were supplanted by Calvinistic. The storm of protest aroused by this book (*e.g.*, Chemnitz wrote a pamphlet against it, unmasking its true character) induced the elector to quash it and forbid its use. The theologians defended themselves in several pamphlets, and especially the *Grundfeste*. Again they succeeded in deceiving the elector. But from outside a flood of pamphlets denounced their defence as un-Lutheran. This induced the elector to summon them to Dresden, October 10, 1571, where they should present a definite and complete confession concerning their doctrine of the Lord's Supper. They presented the *Consensus Dresdensis,* composed by the Wittenberg faculty and approved by the theologians summoned. They used the trick of presenting their doctrine in the words of Luther, followed by some expressions of Melanchthon from their symbolical book (*Corpus Misnicum*), interpreting the clear words of Luther by the indistinct phrases from Melanchthon in

a Philippistic and Calvinistic sense. They very carefully avoided such questions as the communion of the unbelievers.

By this trick the elector was fully convinced that his theologians were sound in doctrine and were merely martyrs of "Flacian" persecutions. He could not believe that these professors of theology were such horrible hypocrites.[1] And when, in 1573, he became the guardian for the two sons of Duke John William of Saxony, he had his chance to get even with the Flacianists: he at once deposed the Flacianist professors at Jena and appointed Philippists in their places. He demanded that all ministers should sign a statement that they accepted the *Consensus Dresdensis,* and would read no Flacianist books; those that refused were deposed and driven from the country.[2]

The Crypto-Calvinists now were convinced that they had won their case, and they considered it timely to take another step, though still cautiously. They published a book in which their "platform" was fully outlined. It was the "Definite Synodical Platform" of the Crypto-Calvinists of the sixteenth century. The title was *Exegesis perspicua et ferme integra controversiae de sacra coena.*

This *Exegesis* was published at the time when Andreae was busy in recasting the contents of his "Six

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[1] Only one thing puzzled him: The Heidelberg Calvinists were reported to him to have said: This Consensus fully agrees with the Heidelberg Catechism. But then the theologians assured him that this was not correct.

[2] This caused so many vacancies that August could not get enough students at Wittenberg and Leipzig to fill them.

Sermons" into the "Swabian Concordia" (see above). Only two pamphlets were published against it (by Wigand and Heshusius); but everyone was alert for what would now take place. From all sides came letters directing the elector's attention to this bold attack on the Lutheranism of Saxony. The Count of Henneberg, an aged friend of August, did not consider his age nor the hardships of a journey in spring, and came in person to have a heart-to-heart talk with the prince who was so shamefully deceived by his most trusted theological advisers. And then came the severe judgment of the criminals as told elsewhere.

7. THE EXEGESIS PERSPICUA

The book (1) opens with a discussion of the doctrine of the person of Christ; it then (2) discusses the sacraments in general and the Lord's Supper in particular (positively and negatively), and (3) finally a programme of what should be done is outlined.

(1) THE DOCTRINE OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST. In Christ two natures are united in one person; both are unmixed also in the glorified Christ. His body remains a human body, and retains all the peculiarities of a human body—except that previously it was an animal body, whilst it now is a spiritual body. Hence the properties of one nature can be asserted only of the concrete person, *e.g.*, Christ suffered and is omnipotent (this means: He suffered according to His human nature, is omnipresent according to His divine nature). There is no communication of the properties of one nature to the other. Consequently His presence on earth consists merely in His being efficient in

the believers in Word and Sacrament.

(2a) The Sacraments in General. These are visible signs instituted as seals of the promise and testimonies of the universal grace applied to the individual believers. Baptism is the seal of implantation into Christ, and the Eucharist is the token and seal of continuous nourishing. Christ thereby testifies His will to be present for them, to fill them with life and to raise their bodies for eternal life. But this presence is only a presence of His divine nature; for the human nature is in heaven and afar from us. The divine presence is not bound to the sacrament. By this presence the communication in the sacrament is a spiritual and not a bodily one. This spiritual communication is the spiritual union of Christ's divinity with us, and not a communication of Christ's body.

(2b) The Lord's Supper in Particular. It may be defined as a ceremony in which, with the visible gifts, a communication of Christ's body takes place—that is: Christ is present for the believers, and assures them that it is His will to make them His members and make His habitation within them. Hence the Eucharist is more than a mere memorial of an absent Christ; it might be called a substantial presence (that is: He is really present to work within us, as really present as the Holy Spirit is present in His work).

Christ deals with us, and not with the bread and wine; hence the question regarding the union of Christ's body and blood with bread and wine is foolish.

The words of institution were always interpreted by the old Church that Christ testifies that we should

receive forgiveness of sin and eternal life. We must assume here a *synekdoche* (naming a part and meaning the whole), and, *vice versa,* a metonymy (naming the cause and meaning the effect). Hence only an efficiency is meant. As Christ had spoken before the institution of the sacrament of His efficiency within the disciples, they knew that this ceremony was to be a seal of this promise and not a real gift differing from the gospel. The words "this is my body" are interpreted by "the cup is my blood of the new testament," which Paul interprets as "the communion of," etc. He does not say: the bread is the true, essential or substantial body of Christ, but the bread is an external, visible material by which communion results between us and the body of Christ. He opposes it to the meals of the heathens: they come into communion with idols; we with Christ. Hence he speaks of a communion between Christ and the believers. This phrase is really a better expression than the one used in the Augsburg Confession for the same idea. The idea that the ungodly receive the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament has its origin in the Romanist doctrine of transubstantiation. But if there is no direct relation between the symbols and Christ's body, the whole question collapses by itself. And if the communion of Christ is the essential part, then the consequence is that it has been instituted only for the believers, and the seal of fellowship with Christ is of no use for the ungodly.

Rejection of False Views. Luther was drawn into the eucharist controversy by those who considered the sacrament merely as visible signs and tokens of

human profession (Zwingli). The other side (Reformed) saw the error of this leader. But the Lutheran side (in attacking the former and abandoned error) continued to fight against those that now teach better. It retained some ideas which arose from transubstantiation, and refused to abandon them. Already Luther had fallen into this mistake, but more so those that came after him. The latter relapsed more and more into the Romanist error, and now speak of a union of the body with the bread. This is wrong, as is also the Lutheran doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum,* by which the reality of Christ's human nature is denied.

(3) Practical Suggestions. We must not adhere too tenaciously to the author who founded the Protestant Church (Luther), but must allow room for the better insight which came later (Melanchthon, Calvin). Reference is made to the flourishing condition of the Church in Reformed countries. There schools and congregations prosper, and there is a truly Christian life. Their doctrine agrees with that of the ancient Church. They have a great number of martyrs. Should we condemn them since they do not agree with us in this single and solitary point?[1] And even here

[1] This shows how old this misconception is, which is so often uttered in our days. The fact is, the agreement is only an imaginary one, and the whole system of doctrine is fundamentally different from the Lutheran. This is the case with the ancient (mostly abandoned) Calvinistic system. The great mass of Reformed teachers have no system of doctrine, but concoct their own doctrine eclectically from Calvinism, Arminianism, Zwinglianism and Rationalism.

we agree in respect to the use of the sacrament. The only difference is the one in question: Is the human body of Christ present in the Eucharist? Here—with all due respect to Luther—we must concede that, in the heat of the controversy, he not rarely went beyond limits, and it would be better to follow those whom God had placed alongside of him (Melanchthon, Calvin) who spoke more correctly.

Until a synod has definitely decided the controverted points, the doctrine of ubiquity and the eating of Christ's body by the ungodly should be dropped and a definite formula should be used: "the bread is the communion of the body of Christ." In more detailed statements we should use the expressions and explanations of Melanchthon. These are better than the terms used in the Augsburg Confession, for when he wrote the Augsburg Confession he did not see as clearly as he did later.

ARTICLE VII. CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER

The Development of the Text

Chytraeus rewrote this article (like the second). The style shows this at more than one place (compare the involute sentence, 43-48). The article as finally received into the Formula of Concord presents: 1. Andreae's draft enlarged by Chytraeus; 2-3, Chytraeus; 4-5, Torgau; 6-19, Chytraeus, with a very few additions at Torgau; 20-32, Malbrunn Formula; 33-90, Chytraeus, with a few changes at Torgau and Bergen; 91, Bergen; 92-98, quotation already adduced by Andreae; 99-103, Chytraeus; 104-105, Bergen (proposed by Wuertemberg); 107-108, Andreae's draft largely amplified by Chytraeus; 109-128, Chytraeus, with very few later changes. The omissions are noted in the synopsis of the contents.

II. The Contents of This Article

INTRODUCTION

The sacramentarians withdrew from us at Augsburg in 1530 by presenting their own Confession. Of late some of our theologians have (partly in public) given assent to the Reformed doctrine, and yet have pretended that the Augsburg Confession is in harmony with their views. Therefore we must show what is the true Scriptural doctrine and the genuine sense of the Augsburg Confession. 1.

I. THE CONTROVERSY[1]

A. The Doctrine of the Sacramentarians

1. The sacramentarians accommodate their words to the expressions of the Augsburg Confession, but when forced to declare themselves, deny the Real Presence in the sacrament. 2-3.

2. Their different position is as follows:

(*a*) At first they considered the sacrament absolutely no more than a confessional act for Christians. 4a.

(*b*) Then they said that Christ is present, viz., according to His divine nature. 4b.

(*c*) Then they said: The body of Christ is present, that is, we partake of His power, efficacy and benefits. 5.

By using the words "truly," "essentially," etc. (which they interpret as: through faith and not really), many have been deceived. 6.

3. Their exegesis of the words of institution.

(*a*) "Eat" means "believe."

(*b*) "Body" means "sign," "figure of Christ's body in heaven."

(*c*) "Is" must be understood figuratively. 7-8a.

4. Their rejection of Luther's doctrine.

They deny that the body of Christ is present here upon earth; that it is in the sacrament essentially, although invisibly and incomprehensibly. They execrate

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[1] Chytraeus also here gives his outline and names as the main parts the headings which are given in this outline.

as blasphemy the doctrine that it is received orally with bread and wine even by the hypocrites. 8b.

B. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Augsburg Confession

1. The historical form of presentation in the following symbols:

(*a*) The Augsburg Confession, Small Catechism and Apology. 9-11.

(*b*) The Wittenberg Concordia of 1536. 12-16.

(*c*) The Articles of Smalcald. 17-19.

(*d*) Luther's Large Catechism. 20-27.

(*e*) Luther in his Large Confession. 28-33.

These historical documents show what was always the proper sense and understanding of the Augsburg Confession.

2. The various forms of expression, viz., "is the body," or "is the communion of Christ," and, also, "under," "with," "in" the bread are used to reject the Romanist doctrine of transubstantiation, and to indicate the sacramental union and Real Presence. 35.

(*a*) Thus in the person of Christ different expressions are used to bring out the one fact of a personal union. 36.

(*b*) Many eminent teachers use the personal union of the divine and human nature as a parallel for the sacramental union of bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ. 37.

(*c*) This union in the sacrament is not a personal union, but a "sacramental union," and these

forms are used to reject any denial of the Real Presence. 38-41.

II. The Real Presence Is Taught by the Scriptures

A. The Lutheran Exegesis

1. The words of institution must be taken literally. "Since our Lord Jesus Christ . . . after the Last Supper . . . in the institution of this most venerable sacrament . . . spake these words concerning the bread . . . and wine: Take, etc., we are in duty bound . . . with simple faith and due obedience to receive these words as they sound, in their proper and plain sense, as Abraham took God's words literally." 46-47.

(*a*) All circumstances of the institution demand this. 48.

(*b*) They exclude "metaphor" (or change of meaning: "bread" is equal to "spiritual food"), and "metonymy" (change of meaning in "body" as equal to "symbol of my body"). 49.

(*c*) Christ Himself interpreted His meaning by adding the words: "given for you," "shed for you." 50-51.

(*d*) All four records of institution agree absolutely in regard to the bread; the words of Luke and Paul in regard to the wine can have no other meaning than the words of Matthew and Mark: "This is my blood of the new testament." 52-53.

2. The reference to the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor.

10: 16 establishes this interpretation of the Real Presence as correct. 54a.

(*a*) Then even now body and blood is received by all who receive the bread and wine. 54b.

(*b*) If the Reformed interpretation were correct, then it would be: "a communion of the spirit, power and benefits of Christ." 55.

(*c*) If Paul spoke only of communion through faith, he would not say "the bread," but "the spirit" or "faith" is the communion. 56.

(*d*) His words show that all who partake of the bread become participants of the body of Christ (a sacramental or oral participation). 56b.

(*e*) This is also shown by the following comparison: By eating the offerings to the idols they came into fellowship with heathen demonolatry; by eating the sacrament they become participants of the body and blood of Christ. Paul warns against this abuse of the sacrament, which brings judgment and condemnation. But the spiritual communion with Christ cannot be abused, and, therefore, be warned against that. 57.

B. The Lutheran Doctrine Based Upon This Exegesis

1. The literal interpretation of the words of institution is the genuine doctrine of the Augsburg Confession. We intend to abide by it. 58-59a.

2. St. Paul teaches expressly that the unworthy and godless receive the true body and blood of Christ, and by so doing grievously sin against the same (1 Cor. 11:27), not merely against the signs, symbols and presentation. 60.

III. Of "Spiritual" and "Sacramental" Eating

1. What is the difference between the two?
   (*a*) The "spiritual eating" (John 6:54) is nothing else than faith in the Saviour who died for us. 61-62. The "oral" or "sacramental" eating is partaking of the bread and wine in the sacrament, and receiving thereby the true, essential body and blood of Christ, whether we believe or not, as taught by Christ. 63.
   (*b*) This is plainly the sense of the institution: Christ commands an "oral" eating of His body, and adds the command, "This do in remembrance of me," whereby He refers to and demands besides this oral eating "faith" (which is the spiritual eating, etc.) 64-65.
   (*c*) This is the ancient teaching, *cf.* authorities quoted. 66.
   (*d*) The derision heaped by the opponents upon this doctrine hits not only us, but, above all, Christ, St. Paul, and the whole ancient Church. 67.
2. Who are the "unworthy" and the "worthy" guests?

(*a*) The first are those who come without true repentance and faith. 68.

(*b*) The weak, diffident, troubled and longing for more faith, etc., are the truly worthy guests for whom this sacred feast has been instituted. 69-71.

3. Does the "Real Presence" depend upon consecration or faith?

(*a*) The true presence depends not upon man's word or work, but alone upon the power of the Almighty and the institution of Christ. 73-74. Christ's word is efficacious to-day, so that wherever the sacrament is distributed according to the institution, Christ's body and blood are truly present by virtue of the first institution. 75. *Cf.* Chrysostom, 76, and Luther. 77-78.

(*b*) The words of institution should be spoken or sung distinctly.

(1) To render obedience to Christ's command. 80.

(2) To excite the faith of the hearers concerning the fruit. 81.

(3) To consecrate or bless the elements. 82.

(*c*) Essential is also the distribution; for apart from the divinely instituted act it is no sacrament. 83-85. The "use" here includes the entire visible action, and comprises consecration and reception. 86. But apart from this the elements are no sacrament.

(*d*) "Faith" (or spiritual communion with Christ) does not make this act a sacrament,

for that would mean that the unworthy received only bread and wine. 88. But the sacrament depends only upon the word and institution of God, irrespective of the character of the minister or the communicant. Even as the gospel is true in itself, though it does not work unto salvation in the unbeliever. 89. Otherwise more would depend upon man's faith than upon Christ's promise. 90.

IV. Refutation of the Arguments of the Opponents

A. In General

1. The arguments against this doctrine, drawn from the nature of human bodies, ascension, glorification, etc., have been answered in detail by Luther in various books. Nothing new has been produced by the opponents since then. 91.

2. We shall not depart from the simple, distinct sense of the words of institution, for the following reasons stated by Luther: 92-93.

(*a*) Jesus Christ is undivided and inseparable, God incarnate. 94.

(*b*) God's "right hand" is everywhere. 94.

(*c*) God's Word does not deceive. 95.

(*d*) God has not only one, but many ways of being present. 97.

(1) Bodily—as before His glorification on earth. (We do not speak here of such local presence.) 99.

(2) Spiritually—not confined locally, *e.g.*, after resurrection. Analogy: Sound, light, etc., 100.

(3) Divine—as the Second Person of the Trinity, being omnipresent. 101-102. (Perhaps He has also other modes of which we know nothing.) 103.

3. Luther here speaks of "spiritual" presence (over against a "bodily" or "local" presence), but he does not use this word "spiritual" in the sense of the sacramentarians (spiritual communion), but for the supernatural, heavenly mode according to which He is truly present in the Lord's Supper. 104.

(*a*) Thereby we reject the Capernaitic view slanderously assigned to us by the sacramentarians. 105a.

(*b*) The participation occurs through the eating, but the mode is "spiritual." 105b.

4. We base our doctrine of the Real Presence on the truth and omnipotence of God. And this basis is strong enough to withstand all assaults. 106.

B. Doctrines Rejected in Particular

1. Romish errors: The papistic doctrine of transubstantiation, 103, of the mass, 109, and the denial of cup to the laity. 110.

2. The various Reformed errors. 113-127.

ARTICLE VIII. CONCERNING THE PERSON OF CHRIST

I. Development of the Text

The text of this article is based upon the draft furnished by Andreae. Chemnitz amplified it very carefully. Further additions were made, especially at Bergen.

In 1-12 we have the work of Andreae with additions in 4 by Chemnitz, in 6 by Chytraeus, in 11 by Chemnitz, and in 12 by both Chemnitz and Chytraeus. 13-30 were added at Torgau with changes made at Bergen in 18, 19, 26, 28. 31-35 were substituted for passages inserted by Chemnitz, Chytraeus and at Torgau. 36-37, Chemnitz; 38-45, Bergen (taking the place of Chemnitz's paragraphs). 46-62, Chemnitz (with very few later changes); 63, Bergen; 64-66, Chemnitz; 67-79, Andreae, with later additions in 70, 73-74, and 78; 80-85, Maulbrunn Formula; 86, Torgau; 87-96, Andreae (with a few changes).

II. Contents of this Article

I. The Controversy

The sacramentarians have argued against the doctrine of the Real Presence: Christ's body, being a true human body, cannot be in heaven and on earth at the same time; such majesty is peculiar to God. 1-2.

The Crypto-Calvinists adopted this doctrine con-

cerning Christ, and charged all ancient heresies against the true Lutherans. 3-4.

II. The Thetical Statement

A. The Correct Doctrine of the Person of Christ

1. The Son of God, the Second Person of the Trinity, assumed human nature into the unity of His person, so that now there is one person, who is at the same time true God and true man. 5-6.

2. Thenceforth there are in this one person two distinct natures: not mingled with, or separated from or changed into each other. 7.

3. Each nature retains its own properties. 8.

(*a*) The essential properties of the divine nature are, to be almighty, infinite, omnipresent, omniscient; these never become essential properties of the human nature. 9.

(*b*) The essential properties of the human nature are, to be corporeal, to be flesh and blood, to be finite, to die, ascend, move, etc.; these never become properties of the divine nature. 10.

4. Since the incarnation these two natures constitute one person. Hence the person does not exist any more without the human nature. 11.

5. The assumed human nature has and retains its own properties and has been exalted and glorified at the right hand of majesty, power above every creature. 12.

(*a*) This majesty was given to His humanity in incarnation in the union of divine and human natures. 13.

(1) This union is not, as Nestorius thought, like the union of two boards without communication. 14-16.

(2) But it is a union so that two natures have true communion in one person without mingling, 17 (though the Fathers used the term "mixture" in a good sense, 18a), such as in fire and iron, or body and soul (not as in mead, 18b), so that God is man and man is God—but each nature is and retains its own. 19.

(3) On account of the true union the suffering was the suffering, etc., of the Son of God, though the divine nature cannot suffer, die, etc., *cf.* Luther against Zwingli's *Alloeosis* (naming one nature and meaning the other). 21.

(4) Hence the Greeks used the terms *koinonia* and *henosis*. 22.

(*b*) On account of this union and communion, His humanity partakes in the majesty of the divinity; for the union is real. 23.

(*c*) On account of this union, Mary is the mother not only of a mere man, but of the Son of God, and He reveals His majesty in His miracles. 24-25.

(*d*) And hence the human nature was exalted above all creatures, *i.e.*, He laid aside the form of a servant, but retains eternally His human nature. The majesty belonged to Him in His humiliation, but He made no use of it. 25-26. Now He is present

not only as God, but as God-man in a supernatural way according to the manner of God's right hand, *i.e.,* the almighty power. 27-28. In this power He can also be and is present in the Holy Supper. 29-30.

B. The Communion of the Properties of the Two Natures

The result of this personal union is the *communicatio idiomatum;* for without such union the properties would not be communicated. 31-35.

1. *Genus idiomaticum.* The properties of each nature are ascribed to the entire person, to the God-man. 36.

(*a*) This does not mean that the properties belong to both natures, but are ascribed to the person according to the one nature, *e.g.,* the Son of God (that is, the person) was born, Christ suffered, etc., according to the flesh. 37.

(*b*) With Luther, we reject Zwingli's doctrine of an *alloeosis*, viz., that Christ is named, but only the nature is meant. 38-45.[1]

2. *Genus apotelesmaticum.* In the execution of Christ's mediatorial office, the person acts in, with and through both natures. 46-47.

3. *Genus majestaticum.* This indicates what the human nature received through the personal union. 48.

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[1] This part (*b*) was added at Bergen.

(*a*) The divine nature did not receive or lose anything. 49.

(*b*) Respecting the human nature

(1) Some contended that the human nature in the personal union with the divine has only the natural properties; nothing more can or shall be ascribed to it. 50.

But this is so plainly false and against the Word of God that even their comrades have rejected it. 50.

(2) The Scriptures and Church Fathers say: The human nature, personally united with the divine, has received especially high, great, supernatural prerogatives and excellencies in majesty, glory, power and might above everything. 51a.

Hence in the execution of Christ's work the human nature now takes part, especially through the properties received in glorification. 51b.

(*c*) Even the adversaries now admit this, but claim these are not divine properties, but created gifts. 52.

(1) Christ (who knows best) has revealed as much as we need to know, and we should simply accept it by faith. 53.

(2) It is true that created gifts have been given to the human nature, but it has received, besides these, the divine properties of quickening, judging, supreme power, etc. 54-55.

(*d*) Proof that these do not refer to the person

alone, or to the divine nature alone. 56.

(1) Whatever Christ received, He did not receive according to the divine nature, but according to the assumed human nature. 57.

(2) He has received the power to quicken and to judge, because He is the Son of man. 58.

(3) His blood cleanses us and His flesh quickens us; here the human nature is expressly named. 58.

II. Detailed Statement of the Doctrine Concerning the Communicatio Idiomatum

We must believe, according to the Scriptures, that Christ has received the glory, etc., according to His human nature. The two natures are so united in Christ that each retains its character and that the properties do not become the other nature's properties.

1. FALSE VIEWS REJECTED

1. The divine power, majesty, etc., was not given as the Father gives His essence to His Son. Christ is equal to the Father only in the divine nature; in His human nature He is subordinate to God.

(*a*) Hence there is no confusion, equalization or abolition of natures.

(*b*) The power to quicken belongs to the divine nature; the human nature has it not in the like manner.

2. This communion has not occurred through a

natural infusion of divine properties into the human nature.

(*a*) The human nature has them not apart from the divine essence.

(*b*) The properties of the human nature were not laid aside or transferred into divinity.

(*c*) The properties of the human nature are not equal to those of the divine nature.

(*d*) The opposite errors are rejected by the old councils. 62.

3. The expression "real communication" is opposed to "verbal communion," for this communion occurred in deed and truth. 63.

2. THE CORRECT DOCTRINE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH

1. The human nature of Christ received such majesty according to the manner of the personal union.

(*a*) The entire fullness of the divinity dwells in Christ bodily (as in His own body), not as in men and angels. 64.

(*b*) Hence it shines forth in, with and through the human nature in its majesty, power, etc., when and where Christ wills (as the soul in the body, the fire through the iron).

(*c*) In the time of humiliation the majesty was concealed, but now it is exercised in heaven and on earth before all saints.

(*d*) In eternal life we shall behold this glory face to face. 65.

2. There is only one divine omnipotence—the divine. 66. It shines, manifests and exercises itself

in, with and through the assumed nature voluntarily (as the fire shines through the iron).

3. This majesty belongs to the person not only according to His divine nature, or nominally. 67-68.

(*a*) For *per phrasin* also the believers have it. 69.

(*b*) But in Christ it dwells bodily. 70.

4. The kind of communication.

(*a*) Not an infusion of the divine majesty in such a way that the divine is weakened by surrendering to another (as wine or oil poured out). 71.

(*b*) But God has given to the assumed nature the Spirit without measure. 72.

(1) He knows not only some things, but He knows and can do all things. 73-75.

(2) On account of the personal union, only His flesh and blood are the true quickening food, etc., and He only can say: "I am with you always." 76. He is not present according to His divine nature and absent according to His assumed nature wherever He will. 77. This has been promised as the Head of the Church and guaranteed in the Lord's Supper. 79.

(*c*) This was also the doctrine of Luther, as his writings prove. 80-86.[1]

5. Hence we reject it as a pernicious error if such majesty is denied to Christ according to His human nature.

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[1] The sections 80-86 were added at Torgau; they were taken from the Maulbrunn Formula.

(*a*) This would deprive Christians of the consolation that their Head, King, and High Priest is present with and dwelling in them.

(*b*) It would leave only the consuming fire of divinity.

(*c*) He has promised the presence of Him who can have sympathy with us as man according to the assumed nature which makes Him our brother and our flesh. 87.

3. ANTITHESES

We reject as false the following doctrines:

1. The human nature has been mixed or transformed into the divine. 89.

2. The human nature is omnipresent by its own power and property. 90.

3. The human nature has been equal to the divine nature in substance, essence or essential properties.

4. The human nature has been extended locally everywhere. (Yet His almighty power can fulfill the promise of His real presence without destroying His true humanity.)

5. The human nature alone has suffered for us and atoned for us, and the Son of God did not take part.

6. Christ is present in Word and Sacrament only according to His divinity, and His human nature has no part in this presence.

7. The assumed human nature does not really share divine power, wisdom, majesty and glory, but this is merely a phrase.

All these errors are condemned as contrary to the

Bible, and all Christians are warned simply to believe the Word and to comfort themselves by the fact that Christ has placed our human flesh and blood to the right hand of God. 96.

ARTICLE IX. CONCERNING THE DESCENT TO HELL

1. Historical Introduction

In 1550 the superintendent of Hamburg, John Aepinus, had caused a controversy by teaching in lectures to the clergy: The descent to hell is a part of the work of atonement, and belongs to the state of humiliation. Whilst the body of Christ rested in the grave, His soul entered the place of the dead, in order to share the fate of sinful mankind. He did not triumph, nor did He suffer the torments of hell.

Many associates of Aepinus opposed these views, since it was against the word: "It is finished." Aepinus was very modest and quiet in his defence, but some opponents (especially Epping, Garz and Hackrott) were rude and insolent and carried the matter into the pulpits; they were deposed, not on account of the difference, but on account of the manner and way in which they spoke and acted (1551). Melanchthon was asked for his opinion, but avoided a clear answer, and admonished parties to drop the whole discussion. Westphal, Flacius and Gallus in essentials sided with Aepinus. The same matter was ventilated also in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and in Augsburg (1565). Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism interpret the "descended to hell" as Christ's suffering for our sins before death.

2. HISTORY OF THE TEXT

This article was added at Torgau, and the sermon referred to in 1 was recited with a short preamble, stating that in regard to this question all unnecessary and over-curious questions should be avoided. It is translated in Jacobs, Vol. II, pages 249-253. A short synopsis was substituted at Bergen, with a few further remarks.

3. CONTENTS OF THE ARTICLE

We refer to Luther's sermon at Torgau as a correct statement. There a distinction is made between the burial and the descent to hell. The whole person (the God-man) overpowered Satan and vanquished the power of hell. 2. How this was done is not explained, but must be accepted as a fact, since the Word says so. 3a. In this way we know that neither hell nor Satan can do us harm, if we believe in Christ. 3b.

ARTICLE X. CONCERNING ADIAPHORA

1. History[1] of the Text

This article originally (in the Swabian Concordia) was article seven, preceding the article of the Lord's Supper. No article of Andreae suffered as few changes as this one. Hardly a word was expunged, only additions were made—and of those not few. In consequence of this some sentences became rather unwieldy. Chemnitz added (besides 2 and 3, where he inserted three clauses) only seven words. Chytraeus added 5-7, 12-13, and amended 8, 9, 10, 14, 15 by insertions. At Torgau 18, 25 and 29 were added, and the passage, 19-23, was taken in from the Maulbrunn Formula. The only addition made at Bergen was that 24 was inserted at the request of the Lower Saxons and Braunschweig.

2. Contents of the Article

I. The Controversy

Some say: In "adiaphoris" (middle things) we may make concessions to the opponents, even if we do not agree in doctrinal matters.

Others say: We cannot and must not do so.

II. Affirmative Statement

1. What are "adiaphora," or matters of indifference?

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[1] For History, see page 41f in this book, under Leipzig Interim, etc.

Not anything forbidden by God, nor anything which is to cover the difference from Romanism, nor useless pomp. 5-7.

But such ceremonies as are not in themselves worship or part of worship. 8.

2. How are they to be treated?

(*a*) A church has the power and right to change them as considered most beneficial. 9.

(*b*) In time of confession the true doctrine must be confessed not only in words, but also in fact, by rejecting ceremonies imposed by opponents. 10-13.

(1) For here not the indifferent things are in danger, but the articles of faith, and Christian freedom. 14-15.

(2) By concessions in indifferent things opponents are strengthened, whilst believers are weakened, etc. 16.

(3) This is the historical Lutheran position as expressed in the former concessions. 10-25.

III. Antitheses. 26-31

ARTICLE XI. CONCERNING PREDESTINATION

1. Historical Introduction

In the opening paragraph of this article the statement is made that no public dissension causing offence had yet occurred. Here the two modifiers, "public" and "causing offence," must be strongly emphasized. The passage must not be understood to say that the matter had not been discussed in public, nor that there had not been differences of opinion. Much, very much, had been written in the previous years on this topic; much that had been partly correct, and also many a page that was wrong. A public controversy had occurred at Strasburg in 1562. Here John Marbach, the Lutheran, and Zanchi, the Crypto-Calvinist, had taken different sides. The matter had been settled by a board of arbitration, in which Jakob Andreae was foremost; Zanchi signed Lutheran articles with a mental reservation.

The matter of predestination had attracted much attention since 1551, when it became evident that both Beza and Calvin taught in such a way as to make universal grace nugatory.[1] Chemnitz afterwards considered it advisable to preach a sermon on this article,

[1] See Polykarp Leyser, *Abgenoetigter Bericht,* 1594, reprinted in Harms, Sammlungen, 1 (1892), page 4, and 4 (1898), page 85.

which was published separately and was subsequently reprinted several times and received into his *Postille*.

The writings of Flacius, Amsdorf, Heshusius and Cyriacus Spangenberg[1] especially contained explanations of this doctrine which might occasion a new controversy. To preclude this, Andreae composed an article when he recast his sermons into the Swabian Concordia.

2. HISTORY OF THE TEXT

The article of Andreae[2] consists of an introduction, a distinction between the terms "prescience or providence" and "predestination" (often used promiscuously at that time); then came the statement of the doctrine itself, and finally a few antitheses.

Chemnitz adopted the draft of Andreae, and made comparatively few changes. These changes consisted: (1) In amplifications by the addition of explanatory words and phrases to make the matter more intelligible (especially in 3-8). (2) In the addition of new statements (this especially in 9). Furthermore, the treatment of the doctrine itself was introduced by a brief synopsis of the whole doctrine (of which 13 was afterwards retained, whilst the balance was replaced by new material). In Andreae's statement of the doctrine itself Chemnitz made very few changes, almost all of them merely verbal.

But the Swabian-Saxon Formula presented a text

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[1] Sermons of this author were afterwards reprinted by the Reformed against the Form of Concord.

[2] See the text in Harms' *Sammlungen*, No. 7 (1914, and a reprint by George J. Fritschel (1914).

almost twice as long. Not was only 2 added, but each of 3-9 received additions. Also 10-12 were now inserted. The preamble to the short statement was amended by inserting the clause, "not to speculate . . Word, viz." Instead of the brief synopsis a long statement in eight paragraphs was taken from the sermon of Chemnitz and his *"Enchiridion."* 15-24. And then a detailed statement of the doctrine was given in 25-64, taken almost verbally from Chemnitz's *"Enchiridion."* In 65-93 comparatively few changes were made.

The Torgau Formula has few important changes: 15 is substituted for the previous form; editorial changes occur in 24, 28, 29, 35, 36, 52, 79 and 92. 39 and 40 were recast. At Bergen additions were made in 46, 37, 42, 52, 55, 88, in part to satisfy demands made in various "opinions."

3. CONTENTS OF THIS ARTICLE

I. Introduction

No public controversies have occurred concerning this article. But there is a great diversity of expression in the discussion among the Lutheran theologians. Hence this article has been inserted in order to preclude future strife. 1-2.

II. Definitions and a Brief Summary

1. The distinction between "foreknowledge" and "predestination."

"Foreknowledge" extends to all creatures, both good and bad, 3-4; and to all things. But it is not the

source or cause of evil things; on the contrary, it sets a limit and measurement to evil, and regulates it for good. 6. The source of all evil are the wicked wills of the devil and of man. 7.

"Predestination" extends only to the good, namely, the children of God. 5. And it is the source which procures, works, helps and promotes whatsoever belongs to salvation. It is the rock upon which our salvation is founded. 8.

2. How must predestination be considered?

(*a*) It must not be considered *a priori;* for then the idea might arise that God foresaw how many are to be saved or lost; or, God held a review, and decreed that this one shall be saved, and that one shall be damned. 9. From this mode of consideration arises either false security or else despondency. 10-11. But all doctrines of God lead to the opposite results, viz., contrition, faith, good works. 12.

(*b*) It must be considered *a posteriori,* as comprehending the whole plan of God pertaining to our redemption, 1-2, call, 3, righteousness, 4, and salvation, 5-8. 13-22. This must not be considered abstractly (in itself), but concretely (in its reference to the individual believer), how and in what manner God would execute His plan. And all this must be taken together as the simple and correct doctrine of predestination. 24.

III. A More Detailed Statement

A. The Presentation of Chemnitz

1. For salutary use the explanation must also show how I can know who are the elect. 25.

2. The details:

   (*a*) The source of what we know about predestination is not reason, is not the law, is not evidence, but only revelation. 26.

   (*b*) It has been revealed through the call. 27 (*cf.* 2 and 3 above).

   (*c*) Both the law and the gospel are universal. 28.

   (*d*) God's call is earnest, and we should accept it. 29.

   (*e*) Hence the elect are those described as sheep, hearers, believers, sanctified, those who hunger and thirst. 30.

   (*f*) Their sonship or adoption is attested to them by the Holy Spirit. 31.

   (*g*) Finally, God has promised in future to finish the work begun. 32.

3. We should concern ourselves with this revealed will of God, and strive to enter in at the narrow gate, and not trouble ourselves about the secrets of God's eternal will. 33.

4. The doctrine of reprobation.

   (*a*) It is not God's will that any should perish, as if God's will was contradictory. 35-36.

   (*b*) God offers His grace universally. 37.

   (*c*) God's grace is truly present and active in the Word; but it is not God's will that those

should be the elect who despise, reject, blaspheme and persecute His Word. 39.

(*d*) God has also decreed to reject those who harden themselves, etc. And this is the reason why many are called and few chosen. 40. For few accept the Word, many reject it. 41. Few of the latter retain it; many become blacksliders. 42. The reason of this is not God's predestination, but man's perverse will.

5. The practical test of this doctrine by comparing it with other doctrines.

(*a*) It affirms the doctrine of justification by grace alone. 43.

(*b*) It overthrows the doctrine of both Pelagianism and Synergism. 44.

(*c*) It shows the eternal interest of God in my personal salvation. 45.

(*d*) It shows that my salvation rests in the strong hand of God. 46-47.

(*e*) It shows, amid temptations and crosses, that God purposes to lead every Christian through the cross to the crown. 48-49.

(*f*) It shows that there will always be a Church. 50.

(*g*) It contains powerful admonitions and warnings. 51a. In short, it stands the test outlined in 12. 51b.

6. The secrets of God's wonderful ways. 52-63.

(*a*) Besides these revealed things, God has kept concealed much that must and will remain unknown to us, though the curiosity of

man busies itself most about it. 52-53.

(1) The number of those who will enter heaven and hell; God knows it, but it is not revealed to us. 54-55.

(2) The time of each individual's conversion and return. 56.

(3) God's ways of mercy and punishment in the case of backsliders. 57-62.

(*b*) In all these things which go beyond these limits we remain silent, and do not challenge God's ways, but imitate Paul, who excludes all vain questions by his doxology: "O the depths of the riches," etc. 63-64.

B. The Presentation of Andreae

1. The doctrine of predestination must be considered in Christ.

(*a*) For we have been predestined in Christ (Eph. 1:4).

(1) The Father directs us to Him.

(2) The Son calls us to Himself.

(3) The Spirit brings no other message.

Hence the Holy Trinity points to Christ as the Book of Life, in which we should look for our predestination. 65-66.

(*b*) Christ proclaims our eternal election in the words: "Repent and believe"; "Everyone that seeth the Son and believeth," etc.; "God so loved the world." 67.

(*c*) This proclamation is to be preached universally. 68.

(*d*) The Holy Spirit works true faith in the hearers. 69.

(*e*) Whosoever would be saved should hear Christ, who invites all. 70.

(*f*) Hence we should repent and believe and entrust ourselves entirely to Him. 71-72.

(*g*) The Holy Spirit impels the elect (believers) to good works; we should not resist this impulse, but exercise all Christian virtues. 73.

(*h*) The Holy Spirit bears witness to them. 74.

(*i*) For the future God has promised His grace to His Children, and will forgive their sins in daily repentance. 75.

2. It is true that no one can come to Christ except the Father draw him.

(*a*) But the Father draws not directly, but through the Word and sacraments.

(*b*) God does not want man to wait for a direct drawing outside of the means of grace.

(*c*) God uses the ordained means, and thereby draws the sinner from the jaws of hell into His kingdom. 76.

(*d*) Hence every sinner should repair to the means of grace, assured that God draws through them. 77.

3. That only a few are saved is the fault of those who reject salvation.

(*a*) They hear the word and despise it. 78.

(*b*) The devil makes the vessels of dishonor; God finds them as such and makes them vessels of honor, if they repent and be-

lieve; but He punishes impenitent sinners. 79-82.

(*c*) God often punishes sin by hardening the hearts of the obdurately impenitent, as we see in the case of Pharaoh. 83-86.

4. The test of this doctrine.

(*a*) It gives all glory to God and His eternal mercy. 87-88.

(*b*) It does not produce either despondency or frivolity. 80-90. Any doctrine which produces these is false. 91-92.

(*c*) Hence we will retain this plain, correct and useful interpretation, and will shun all acute discussions, and reject all contrary doctrines. 93.

ARTICLE XII. OF VARIOUS SECTS

This article enumerates the errors of sects outside of the Lutheran Church. The text in the Book of Concord is almost identical with the first draft of Andreae. Only No. 13 in Müller, p. 727 (Bergen), 16, 17, 29b (Chemnitz), together with a few verbal changes were added in the various revisions. It is not necessary to furnish a schedule of this article, as they are in the form of a schedule.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Material for Further Study

In the subjoined list the material which is recommended to students in seminary work is given first. In the second list for each article the material considered most instructive for advanced work is listed.

(The Index volumes of Schaff-Herzog and Hauck, RE., will direct the student to other parts where the material is touched upon.)

Article I

In regard to Flacius, see Richard, The Confessional History, pp. 323-328; Schmauk, The Confessional Principle, pp. 596f., 644, 754f.; Schaff-Herzog, IV, p. 321ff.; Hauck, RE., VI, pp. 82-92.

Preger, Matthias Flacius: His life, I, 1-37 and elsewhere; his doctrine, II, 310-412; Frank, *Theol. der C. F.*, I, 50-112; O. Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, II, 447-454.

Article II

Richard, pp. 333-371; Schmauk, pp. 599-601, 638, 641; Schaff-Herzog, XI, 23ff.; Hauck, RE., 19, 229ff.; 97ff.; 6, 82; 15, 322ff.

Fischer, *Melanchthons Lehre von der Bekehrung* (1905); Preger, II, 116-135; 180-227; Frank, I, 112-240; O. Ritschl, II, 157-183; 423-447.

Article III

Tschakert, 489-497; Richard, 376-378; Schmauk, pp. 590, 599, 638, 641, 753, 757, 759; Schaff-Herzog, VIII, 280; Hauck, RE., 14, 501ff.

Preger, I, 205-297; Frank, II, 1-147; O. Ritschl, II, 116, 156, 226-252, 455-500; Luther's Explanation of Galatians.

Article IV

Tschakert, 514-520; Richard, pp. 394-399; Schmauk, pp. 596, 598, 638, 641; Schaff-Herzog, VII, 134f.; Hauck, RE., 12, 85ff.; 5, 577; 7, 464ff.; Luther, Weimar Edition, 50, 461; 51, 425ff.

Articles V, VI

Tschakert, pp. 478-489; Richard, p. 312; Schmauk, pp. 533, 581, 598, 641, 763; Schaff-Herzog, I, 91, 197; Hauck, RE., I, 585ff.; 249ff.

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Articles VII, VIII

Tschakert, 531-557; Richard, 305, 329-332; Schmauk, 534, 597, 599, 605-606; Schaff-Herzog, IX, 32ff.; Hauck, RE., 21, 185ff.; 7, 408ff.; 8, 8ff.

Calinich, *Kampf und Untergang des Melanchthonianismus in Chursachsen,* 1866; H. Schmid, *Der Kampf der luth. Kirche um Luthers Lehre vom Abendmahle im Reformationszeitalter,* 1868; Frank, III, 1-396.

Article IX

Tschakert, pp. 557-558; Schmauk, 657; Schaff-Herzog, I, 59; Hauck, RE., 1, 228.

Frank, III, 397-454.

Article X

Tschakert, pp. 505-514; Richard, pp. 322, 325, 392-394; Schmauk, pp, 533, 591, 596, 600, 641, 644; Schaff-Herzog, I, 42f.; Herzog, RE., 1, 172ff.; 9, 21ff.

Preger, I, 135-204; Frank, IV, 1-120; O. Ritschl, II, 328-370.

Article XI

Tschakert, 81f., 559-564; Richard, pp. 333ff., 356-357; Schaff-Herzog, IX, 191ff.; Hauck, RE., 12, 245ff.; 21, 607ff.

Frank, IV, 120-327; Theo. Mees, *Zur Dogmengeschichte,*

etc.; Geo. J. Fritschel, *Schriftlehre von der Prädestination;* Harms, *Sammlungen,* vols. 1-7; Tressel, The Error of Missourianism. (Here the series of selections from the old dogmaticians in English translation is of permanent value.) Baier ed. Walther, III, pp. 531-613.

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